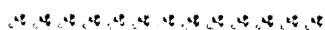


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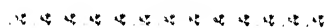
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BORROWED CHILDREN



Mrs. St. Lee Stachey



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Author Strachey, Mrs. S. I. Doe.

Title Borrowed Children 1940

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BORROWED CHILDREN

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FOR REASONS WHICH THEY WILL UNDERSTAND
TO THREE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS
OF THE CHILD GUIDANCE BRANCH OF THE
COMMONWEALTH FUND OF AMERICA

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FOREWORD

“IT is estimated that 734,883 unaccompanied children were evacuated in the first days of September 1939.”—“*Daily Telegraph*,” January 26th, 1940.

Wars, whatever we may think of them, can teach something to those of us who are ready to learn.

This war, owing to the danger from bombing from the air, has taught us—of all things—a great deal about children. Not only about the state of health and degree of cleanliness and “civilization,” and so on, of the nation’s children, but about how children—different types of children—will behave in unusual circumstances, and through that we find that we have learnt some fundamental truths about all children.

Here, in this book, is a fascinating record, intimate and actual, of dozens of cases of what happened both in those first extraordinary few days in September, and then in the months that followed.

But *Borrowed Children* is not merely good reading, as interesting as a novel, an adventure tale or a very candid diary, it is also the first record for the ordinary reader of the findings of experts, on what we ordinary people call “bringing up children,” and its many curious problems.

FOREWORD

Some fairly complex ideas on the management of "difficult" children, or of normal children who so often suddenly go through a difficult phase, have been confirmed in such a way in this huge "experiment" that you and I, who are perhaps mothers of families, or teachers, or merely interested onlookers, can at last understand what these ideas are, and are able to see almost at a glance what the experts on child psychology have been working round to in the last fifteen years. Now the child psychologist can really help us. For remember, that neither the mother nor the teacher sees the whole problem.

I, for instance, as a mother, didn't, till I read *Borrowed Children*, understand the point made by Dr. Moodie, in Chapter VII (that learning to read and write has such a quite unexpected influence on the "over-strung" child).

On the other hand, when I had both teachers and children billeted on me, I found that there were many little points of home management that were quite new to the teachers—though they were experts at their own job.

* * * * *

The first evacuation was a failure—you hear people say. A costly failure! Read this volume, and I think you may agree that, failure or not, something very substantial may actually have been gained by it. For if the ordinary run of people who have to do with children—I mean parents, teachers, doctors, magistrates, club workers, and now billeting officers, and so on—

FOREWORD

can get a new grasp of their job (as they can if they add the record of this little book to their own experiences), then I don't think that Evacuation, costly and nerve racking as it has been to many of us, can be classed as a failure.

At any rate, the experiences of 1939-40 mark an epoch in our knowledge of how to avoid a great many pitfalls in the bringing up of children. As this book goes to press new emergencies make this knowledge immediately vital to everyone who took their part in the first adventure and those who take up their tasks for the first time.

AMABEL WILLIAMS-ELLIS.

June 1940.

INTRODUCTION

EVACUATION is another name for Dislocation. Of the problems confronting the British Commonwealth at this moment the dislocation of life in the Mother Country is not the smallest.

The menace from the air has uprooted many classes of workers. Banks, Insurance Companies, even certain Government Departments carry on their work far away from their usual base.

Much the most important evacuation, however, is that of the children, which is likely to have far-reaching consequences, quite unforeseen in the hurried days of September when it was first carried out. The problems to which their flitting has led are not diminished, but are increased, by the partial drift back to the towns which, though the situation is more dangerous than ever, set in about Christmas-time.

This little book is concerned entirely with the problems of evacuated children of school age. It is not intended for the trained psychologist, the trained educationalist, or the practised social reformer.

Its intention is to give intelligent, untrained people, deeply concerned with the welfare of the Nation's children, a picture intimate in its detail of the first months

INTRODUCTION

of evacuation and of the unforeseen problems which immediately arose.

These problems were to a large extent emotional, and it may be useful to point out the manner in which similar problems were dealt with in "difficult" children before the War.

These, indeed—the mental problems involved—are the aspects on which these pages will dwell, giving first-hand reports of the measures which the leading societies dealing with Mental Health have united to endeavour to institute. These reports, dealing with most of the Regions into which Civil Defence has divided the country, are of great interest, showing the different ways in which different areas have tackled the question.

The very serious educational and social problems can only be partially studied here without expanding the volume into an encyclopaedia. Authentic reports of some of the measures already taken will show the reader something of what has been attempted, and more of what remains to be done, to cope with the dislocation which results from the evacuation of the children.

At the beginning, however, come the first-hand reports of what happened on September 1st.

PART I

HOW THEY CAME

CHAPTER I

THE CHILDREN ARRIVE

I

September 1st 1939; 6 p.m.

We had been on the alert all day.

An abrupt message had been left at the door early that the children were expected, and that nobody could possibly find time to telephone what time they would arrive.

The house had been unoccupied till late on the previous Tuesday (August 29th), and the preparations for the six children expected had been necessarily hasty.

The hours passed quickly. Even tea-time was over when at last there was a shout, "Here are the cars!" I had asked for and been promised a helper, no boys, and six girls of about 9 "plus," which is the slang of the London County Council for "and upwards."

I ran downstairs. Two cars drew up. The doors opened on both sides and out of them tumbled eight little beings, none of them more than knee-high and half of them boys.

Well, there they were, and they had to be made the best of. A tangle of gas-masks, knapsacks, tiny great-coats, tumbled all over the floor of the hall, and tins of

HOW THEY CAME

condensed milk rolled about gaily. The children were hot, dirty, and tired. "Baths and bed!" cried I. Then there arose a united shout:

"BUT WE HAVEN'T HAD OUR TEA!"

The train dust had to be washed off, however, and the end of it was that a very large and composite meal was given them in bed.

The children were absurdly small. It turned out that the two eldest, both boys, were only eight, while a little elfin being with big eyes was found to be only five. It was a kindergarten that we were called upon to undertake—a kindergarten of singularly calm and cheerful babies. There was only one case of tears.

But the emotional disturbance was there, for when morning came it was found that a proportion of the children had wetted their beds. Had they been on guard all day, and was it only in the relaxation of sleep that the immense disturbance and dislocation of their lives had manifested itself?

I ought to have seen below the surface, for in talking over at the front door whether it was possible to put up eight children without a helper, in a house prepared for six, a little hand was put into mine and two anxious dark eyes looked up into my face. Was the little boat which had sailed so gallantly in strange waters all day to be denied anchorage in the safe harbour to which it had at last put in?

The dream of eager, active children is to have great adventures. But behind all the excitement and bustle

THE CHILDREN ARRIVE

in this adventure there lurked something sinister. It threatened that "secure basis of home," on which the stability of all child life depends, and it promised to last for so long—for always perhaps. No wonder that among those tens of thousands of tired children who had trekked away from home on that September day, the smaller ones, the strain relaxed in sleep, gave a very common physical signal of the disturbances of their mental state. For enuresis (a lack of control over the bladder) is a symptom of anxiety. A dog, however well house-trained, is also apt to exhibit it in strange surroundings.

Morning sunshine brought reassurance. The woods and fields, full of great beds of rose bay (willow herb), of which the children could make bunches, stilled their anxiety, and when as the weeks went by, the routine of school, meals, and a free weekend was gradually established, a much more commonplace view of the change was taken, and the ordinary ups and downs of everyday life resumed their proper value.

Our portion of the great exodus seemed merely the opening of a hostel to house some of the children of a large elementary school which had been evacuated with its teachers and pupils. The parents' visits on Saturday and Sunday to take out their special children are just like the visits many of us have paid to our children and relations at any boarding-school.

One rock ahead is the question of holidays. As I write this the Christmas holiday is safely over. But what will happen when the children find out that holi-

HOW THEY CAME

days are practically non-existent, or confined to a few days grudgingly allowed when a father or near relative is home from the Front?

That is a situation which may have the most disturbing reactions. Psychologists tell us that "an artificial atmosphere is prejudicial to them" (children). What could be more artificial than the atmosphere in thousands of homes on Christmas Day, 1939?

Meanwhile it is the first day of February, five months to the day since the loaded motors drove up to the door. A great shout outside the window reveals the fact that it is an ill snow fall which brings no one any good. The road to school is blocked by deep snowdrifts; but here, in the fields, the children are running about in a white snow to which they are quite unaccustomed. "I never saw anything like it in all my life," says the youngest but one. He is just six years old.

* * * * *

I am told that we have been extraordinarily lucky in our children. I don't altogether believe it, because, as a School Manager of many years' service (on and off), I have a most profound respect for the London County Council children and their teachers. To show that mine is by no means a unique case, let two of my friends tell their own "reception" stories.

One friend lives over two hundred miles away and has a large party of girls from an important provincial city. The other has six boys from a school in the East End of London.—This one would think a very "tough" proposition.

THE CHILDREN ARRIVE

II. NEWS FROM THE DALES

The billeting authorities had come round from time to time, and on the principle of, "Think of a number, double it," we had been allotted a quota of twelve children. Boldly (because it was, at any rate, less difficult for me than for my neighbours), I had said that we could take "children needing special care."¹ For how could busy farmers' wives, how could people with small cottages and small children of their own, take evacuees with skin, or digestive, or other such complaints and peculiarities? Against adults I am afraid we set our faces, and were deaf to the persuasions of the lady who came round asking us to take blind people and cripples. Not with the low doorways, precipice stairs, and winding passages of our queer, not very large old house! One of my daughters summed it up, "If we did take them, the cripples would soon be blind and the blind cripples."

The blackberry harvest was pouring fruit upon us, so when at last the telegram came saying that the children would be here next day we, the female "effectives," were all stirring jam that refused to be finished off or left. With the whole house to turn upside down we were tied for another hour to huge cauldrons of blackberry jam.

Next day at the village hall near our distant station there was a tangle, amiable but apparently not to be unravelled.

¹ The writer gave four years' service as a V.A.D. (Voluntary Aid Detachment) nurse from 1914 to 1918.

HOW THEY CAME

We, who were taking our part in receiving the children, had not been told, had (foolishly, it now seems) not guessed, that the teachers' one wish was not only to keep schools, but classes, together. On the other hand the teachers had not been told, and never guessed from the geography lessons that they had so often given, that in our thinly populated county, not more than forty or fifty extra inhabitants could be stuffed into any one village, and that buses between villages were infrequent and distances long.

The debate seemed to show that to our group of villages would have to be allotted either, (1) far too many boys, (2) not enough infants, or (3) rather too many little girls. A long, hot, bewildered, but good-natured wrangle was conducted behind the scenes amid tins of bully beef, condensed milk, and more biscuits than I have ever seen before. Meanwhile hundreds of children waited in the hall as though for a performance. What were they thinking?—That nobody wanted them? We tried to be reassuring. Someone had had the brilliant idea of pinning a banner with "Welcome" on it in big letters over the door of the hall. "Oh, I was glad to see that," a child said to me. "We didn't think you much wanted us."

At last the crowded buses and the crammed cars drove off. For a confused hour those of us who had volunteered as drivers drove to remote farms and distant villages. When I got to my own house, at about seven o'clock, it was to find that, not twelve, but seventeen little girls plus two teachers had accumulated.

THE CHILDREN ARRIVE

But the day was warm, my daughters active, my cook and housemaid full of kindness. There were camp mattresses, we had prepared an immense stew, we had a bread-cutting machine, and (happy days) plenty of butter. There were too many to go round the table, but those who could not find room were still full of enterprise, and darted off on being told that there was a pond in the garden. Luckily it was a shallow pond, for as the week went by there was not a child that did not fall more or less wholeheartedly into it.

The children were very patient with us, and forgave us when for days to come we muddled up Mary and Betty, and called Sally Ruby. They bore with us when we stopped them from giggling and talking half the night and would only take them to the shallower parts of the river for bathing. We, being large and few, while they were small and many, became individuals to them long before they became individuals to us.

III. NEWS FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

September 1st, 1939.

We waited in the village hall from two till five. Tea and lemonade were prepared: also a churn of milk, cocoa, and biscuits. While we waited, the Billeting Officer and reception committee went through the list of those who had volunteered to receive unaccompanied children, and worried together about Mrs. This and Mrs. That. Knowing our fellow-villagers, we were more concerned about the reactions of the hostesses than about those of the children.

HOW THEY CAME

Members of the committee, and many others, put in last-moment pleas for "one quiet little girl of about nine"; or boldly volunteered to take a boy, provided he were scrupulously clean and small enough to cuddle. But when, at last, someone ran in, crying,—
"They've come, and they're all big boys!"—I think we were most of us jogged at once out of our selfishness, and out of the imaginative paralysis induced by prolonged crisis. I know that my own heart beat stronger, and my eyes filled with tears, as they marched in—nearly eighty of them. They were dirty and unkempt, and many of them ragged: but they held their heads high, and carried their rucksacks and bulging pillow-cases with a swagger.

I settled down to work with one of the masters; and immediately those eighty children became (for me) mere names to be attached to names of hostesses. I hardly saw the children themselves, who were ranged on benches, drinking lemonade. But I grasped that there were a few girls after all, and some small boys—tagged on to their elder brothers in this Senior Boys' Section of a big Dockland Council School.

It took us an hour and a half to dispose of all the children, and by that time some of the smaller ones were crying. One eight-year-old's nerves had snapped under the long day's strain; and he had hurled his belongings—followed by a shrill stream of oaths—out of the car that was taking him to his new home. Brought back in disgrace, he was now snuffling quietly in a corner. Beside him stood his big brother, one of the

THE CHILDREN ARRIVE

best and most intelligent boys in the school—his serious, open face sweating with shock and family shame.

There were two others whom I noticed, because whenever they pushed forward to announce that they had found a home and were going off to it, the presiding master ominously ordered them to wait. But for the most part, I saw nothing beyond my lists.

My own home, owing to a delay in returning the form, was not down to receive any children. But my husband and I invited two of the masters to come back with us, and to bring such of the boys as could not at the moment be "placed." And in due course we carried home our "spoils":—two exhausted masters, and seven very tired little boys. Of these seven, two were brothers, whom the masters dared not let out of their care, owing to their bad record—the two who had so often been turned back; and one was the eight-year-old whose blasphemies had shaken the respectable village street. These three have stayed with us ever since, though the masters have long since found other billets; and the worst of these "bad boys" is now the most willing, responsive and altogether delightful of my delightful six.

They settled down quietly enough, once we had fed them, washed them, and bedded them down in an improvised dormitory of seven beds, with an eighth for a master. But they could not sleep for the quiet, and begged the master to come to bed quickly. There was no bed-wetting and no sickness, and, though one of them had a sharp attack of appendicitis on the second

HOW THEY CAME

night, this was attributable rather to blackberrying than to shock.

I wish I could write at length of how these boys have adapted themselves to country life. I know that three of my own six had never seen a live cow or chicken until they came here: yet now some of them have milked cows, and have seen hedgehogs and foxes. Few of them seem to have done a hand's turn in the house at home: yet here they wash up, fetch and carry, and beg for "big, heavy jobs." Nor are they *blasé* and sophisticated. They beguile the long, dark evenings with Red Indian games on an old rocking-horse, and our clay-bound lanes do not appal them.

Though most of the hostesses in the village seem contented with their foster-children, I am, of course, speaking only for myself when I say that my six boys are making this dreary, lonely war not only tolerable, but often enjoyable. And the other evening I had my reward for the little I have done to make them happy.

The late bad boy of the school asked me to explain what had been written in the papers about moving evacuated children to other houses if their foster-mothers grew tired of them. I told him that, though such a plan of temporary relief had been suggested, it was entirely voluntary.

"Have *we* got to go, Mrs. North?" he asked anxiously.

"No, Tom. Not if *you* don't want to."

His face lighted up, and his rather uncouth body suddenly galvanized (as it often does) into the lithe

THE CHILDREN ARRIVE

grace of an inspired gorilla. Leaping on to a chair, he shouted to the others—

“Boys! boys!” he cried. “Mrs. North says, do we want to go and stay with someone else for a month?”

And my heart swelled with pride and joy as they deafeningly answered, “NAOW!”

CHAPTER II
THE CHILDREN SPEAK

I

“**C**OR, Mrs. North, no one wouldn’t never think you had a big house.”

“No, Ronnie—you can’t see it from here.”

“No—I didn’t mean that” (very impatiently). “*I* meant—you’re just like an ordinary Londoner. You’re not like a posh person at all.”

The above certificate of character was given one day walking down a farm road to the hostess of the six little boys from the East End of London who all shouted “*NAOW!*” when asked at Christmas-time if they would like a change of billet.

The same boy, Ronald, had written home to his mother: “Mrs. North is a nice lady, and her house is a manshoin.”

One day, when he made some comment on the china which they were washing up, his hostess told him that it had belonged to her mother, and that they used to have breakfast off it in the house where she lived as a child.

“Not a house like *this*, Mrs. North?”

“Well, it looked different from this; but it was in the country and had a lovely garden.”

“Was it as *big* as this?”

THE CHILDREN SPEAK

"Yes, about the same, or perhaps a little bigger."

"Cor, Mrs. North! I thought p'raps you'd worked up to this, bit by bit."

He appears to have a nice sense of social distinctions, for another day he observed: "It's funny you should be sweeping and washing up like this, Mrs. North. In the olden days, people who had big houses didn't do the work themselves."

This boy seems to be the only one of the six who is aware, at least articulately, of social distinctions and social changes. Mrs. North writes:

"The others seem to take everything very much for granted. They were bewildered at first by the size of the house, and at a loss for what to call the rooms. (One, for instance, once described the drawing-room as: 'That place where you sometimes sits easy and smokes a fag.')

"Another was heard to say in the village: 'Our butler's gorn. But we've got two lady-butlers' (one of whom must presumably have been myself!)"

Ronald, the one boy of the party who deserves the epithet "refained," is "a nice, gentle creature—backward in book-learning, but from a much more cultured home than the others, and therefore having more background. And it is he alone who shows any class-consciousness. I don't think he feels himself to be socially superior to the others (though his parents do!). But he is aware that there might be thought to be some strangeness in the fact of their all being here: whereas the rest take it quite for granted."

HOW THEY CAME

In order to get these entertaining sidelights from my friend I sent her a questionnaire, thinking that it was more interesting to have the reactions of one whole group of children than sporadic accounts from different parts of the country. She answered me, taking first their reaction to the country, which was one of unmitigated delight. As she said in her account of their arrival:

“One or two of them, at least, had never seen a live cow or a live chicken. Now, they spend all their time out of school at a near-by farm. This particular farmer is a bit of a genius with boys, and they will do anything for him. (I only deplore his influence over them as regards small birds and animals, which he kills indiscriminately.) He tells me that whereas, when they first came, they were (through ignorance) rather a nuisance, they are now a real help on the farm. They come in at night, boasting to me that they have milked a cow quite dry, or chain-harrowed half a field.

“They appreciate flowers, and learn their names. I had to check a tendency to dig up daffodils and aconites (just as they were about to flower) and put them in pots!

“On the whole, they do not torment animals: at any rate, not more than country boys. They caught a jackdaw once, and let it go after showing it to me. And when they found a half-frozen pigeon in the hard weather, they wanted to keep it. I told them that it would be kinder to kill it quickly, and they produced the corpse only a few minutes later. They are at present

THE CHILDREN SPEAK

much preoccupied with frogs, newts, leeches, and other pond life: but I don't enquire too closely into their activities.

"In connection with natural beauty, I must tell you one rather sad little story. Our youngest, roughest, and wickedest little urchin, aged ten, was ill in bed; and I gave him a book called *But We Know Better* by Amabel Williams-Ellis (with illustrations by Clough Williams-Ellis) to read. One of the stories is about Noah's Ark animals coming alive.

"I asked him if he knew what Noah's Ark was, and found that he had never heard of it—though the older boys had a fair knowledge of the Old Testament stories. So a little later I read him the story of Noah, from the Bible. When we got to the rainbow, I asked him if he knew what a rainbow was.

"‘Coo, yes, Mrs. North. It's that thing with all the colours you see on the road where a car's bin standin'.' ”

An interested enquirer asked me the other day whether evacuated children showed any affection for their hostesses or their new homes and, if so, when this manifestation first began. Mrs. North answers thus:

"Yes—I think they showed affection before Christmas. But it was not till after that that they insisted on being kissed good night. They now have to be kissed every night by me, and by any woman visitor; and are (one or two of them) liable to grab one and kiss one at any time. It was the mistletoe that started it!

"They all gave me big packets of chocolate for

HOW THEY CAME

Christmas, or for my birthday a month later; and often give me bits of their own chocolate, or sweets.

"They are very generous, and much less possessive about their few possessions than my own boys have ever been about their many. They lend each other clothes, almost to the extent of having them in common."

She answers a question about village children as follows:

"They do not mix very much with the boys, I think; but there is a great deal of teasing about the village girls. It seems to be quite the thing to have 'a girl' from among the village maidens; and taunts about the girls' fickleness have led to quarrels."

The boys ask about the age of the house, furniture, etc., but, as to talking of their own homes and parents, apparently the only home subject on which they talk endlessly is their dogs.

"They often show me their letters from home; and one boy (Ronnie) was discovered sobbing in bed after being rung up by his mother, because he said his grandma was ill. He has since said that he would rather his family did not come and see him (so long as he knows they are all right) because it upsets him and makes him want to go home."

A boy who has recently gone home said, as to the things which they missed from their old life, that:

"He missed the pictures and the greyhound-stadium. But as he got 1s. a week from home, he could often have gone to the pictures. I would not let them go alone during the black-out; but now they could go, if they

THE CHILDREN SPEAK

did not spend all their money on sweets. I have taken them to the pictures twice, and a good time was had by all. But they never ask to be taken, or seem to miss going once or twice a week, as they did at home. On the whole, I should say that they find much *more* to do here than in London.

"They turned on the one who was going home, and told him he didn't know when he was lucky.

" 'Garn! What's the good of going home before the 'aymaking?'

"Their natural manners have always been pretty good, as various guests who have had meals with them agree, though they still tend to eat with their knives.

"They always say, 'Yes, Mrs. North,' and 'No, Mrs. North,' and seldom forget to say 'Thank you' most warmly for any present or treat.

"As for their manner of speaking, I am afraid that Cockney, as the laziest accent, tends to be the easiest acquired, and I am constantly catching myself out in omitting consonants, etc. I can understand them much better now, but fancy that that is merely because my ear has become attuned, and *not* because they speak better.

"They have certainly got rid of the furtive, guilty manner, and beggar's whine, with which one or two of them arrived. But this is due rather to increased confidence and happiness than to observation of manners.

"One pair of visiting parents (Ronnie's) said that he and his sisters were talking with a West Country accent; but I haven't noticed it!"

HOW THEY CAME

Everyone is enquiring whether the evacuee children take any notice of the difference in daily routine, especially on the question of food. Mrs. North answers thus:

"I don't remember any remarks on daily routine. But then, as I told you, I didn't see much of them at first. They have since told me that some of them had never slept in a separate bed before they came here: (and they have now relapsed, I'm afraid, into sharing beds). They also said that at home they did not have 'afters' (*i.e.*, pudding) every day, and appreciated this. But some of them once asked if they could not have jellied eels and fishes' eyes!"

Mrs. North is of the opinion that their life in the country will have made a permanent impression, even if only subconsciously.

"I often wish," she writes, "that I could give them more light and leading on spiritual values: indeed, I often feel it about my own children. I have not tried to 'improve' them, beyond insisting on a minimum standard of obedience, cleanliness, tidiness and general discipline. They go about in rags; but then, so do my own children.

"Every now and then I round them up and make them collect all the bits of paper, tin cans, etc., that they have strewn about. But I don't think they really *see* the ugliness of litter. They just think it is an unaccountable foible of mine. But I believe that the peace and beauty and stability of country life, and of a more

THE CHILDREN SPEAK

ordered and gracious way of life, will sink in through the pores of the sub-conscious."

And to this sentiment I think we all shall say, Amen.

II. BACK TO THE DALES

Seventeen little girls round the table! So many mattresses on the floor that you could hardly sweep the rooms. All right while the fine weather lasts.

Then at the end of a week the mother of two sisters found a billet three miles away; her daughters left with her, and it could just be done. As it happened these were two we were rather glad to part with, for almost invariably, as we carried in the dinner, one of these two would say aloud, amid a general silence, "Oh, I *hate* boiled mutton,"—"Oh, I wish it was jelly instead!" The others, of course, joined in once so loud a criticism had been voiced.

The first real score to the grown-ups was due to my daughters, for they discovered that, three days after the children's arrival, two birthdays occurred. Out of the still considerable confusion, they conjured two cakes, iced them, and wrote names and ages in pink sugar.

That settled the children. We were all right. A civilized and proper life could be lived in this queer place. That joint birthday tea had an atmosphere of definite approval.

At the end of a fortnight parents came, and we had our first tears. Then the novelty wore off. Children

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who had never left home before, even for a single night, were now very far away. The only child, who had always been so important, was now only one of many.

After the two faddy little sisters had been so providentially removed, we were able to deal much better with likes and dislikes in the way of food. But it was no doubt very queer to children, whose meals had been adapted to their special preferences for as long as they could remember, to have to fall in with what was generally acceptable. There were not enough dishes that everybody liked, and there were too many for special dishes to be prepared (except for reasons of illness) and there was the definite sum of 8s. 6d. per head, per week, to consider.

"Well, if you really don't like it, I'll only give you a doll's helping, but you must eat it!" Gradually the plan worked. Porridge and a lot of other things were tolerated, even became popular, especially when praise was given to those who were not faddy. Soon the child whose turn it was to be waitress would say,

"Doll's of vegetables for Jean, but Elephant's of everything when it comes to me!"

Many of the parents had apparently been very sensible before evacuation in praising country life. One little girl whom I had driven to another billet, on the first day, had been full of what she wanted:

"Oh, I do hope it's a farm! I do hope there's a pig! Would there be a calf, do you think?" . . . Then after a silence, as if this had been perhaps too much to ask,

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"Well, I do hope, anyhow, I go to a lady with a kitten."

One little brother, who had not been evacuated, came down with his parents to visit one of the children billeted in our village, and standing on a hilltop, with an immense view round him, I heard him say: "Ooh! This is a *big* place!" He was a child who had, I gathered, not been out of a town before. But most of these children came from homes where a yearly country holiday was quite general, so that flowers, trees, and rocks, streams and meadows were not new to most of them. What was new was taking part in the work of the country. I was helping, one Saturday, to move two children, who were being rebilleted, joining four others on the biggest farm in the neighbourhood. I had hoped that those I was bringing would be welcomed by the children already there, but there was an atmosphere of haste and casualness. This, however, was soon explained: "Get off your things quick, and come along! We're lifting potatoes!" The children billeted on farms raced each other in learning to milk.

"There isn't even one quiet cow on our farm. How can I learn?" was one wail that I heard.

Comparison of their own homes and the boasting competition natural to children, turned almost entirely on animals—"We've got a *huge* dog, Rover, at home. I think he's a retriever."—"Our cat's had kittens and Mummie says I can keep *four* of the next lot she has, after I come home."—"I've only got a goldfish! I do wish Mummie would . . ." then brightening, "But at the house where I am now" (billet) "there

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isn't just ordinary hens, but a duck as well, called Sally, *and* a turkey!"—"Well you can hardly guess how many pigs there are, where I am!"

Sheep, apparently, did not count, though sheep-dogs did. The first occasion when I collected a party of children, from my own and other billets, who needed to go in to the doctor—(three miles away in a biggish village, with a station)—was about a month or six weeks after the children's arrival—"Oh, a pavement! How lovely!" There really is a bit of pavement in that village, with a proper kerb, and one or two lamp posts, and there are half a dozen shops—not very glamorous, so I had always thought. But how those children enjoyed themselves! Every shop window was inspected. Things that they could have bought at our village post office were bought with far greater pleasure. But they did not clamour for a repetition of what had apparently been a great treat, and visits to the local market town (to which there is an infrequent bus service), though arranged by the very understanding teachers, and much enjoyed, did not seem to rouse any special feeling. Any outing is nice! These to the shops took place with others. Something about these children's fears has been included later in the book (Chapter III).

In the main, in the case of my own lot, the new experience which clearly outweighed any other—even the snow when it came—was the entirely novel fact of living a community life.

Some aspects of this were delightful to them, sharing a bedroom with other children, for instance. But some-

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times we needed the wisdom of Solomon to deal with the difficulties which arose. Cliques formed. Sometimes all my children were on "snooty" terms with all the other evacuees, sometimes with the children who lived in our village. Sometimes there were acute rivalries about the village boys, with some of whom during one phase they played at sweethearts. Sometimes our own lot would, as it were "pick up sides," and three or four of them not be on speaking terms with three or four others. "Secrets?" I would find one child in tears:

"Monica and Mary have got a Secret, and Ruby and Sally have, and they won't tell me, and *I* haven't got anyone to have a Secret with!"

We often had to shift round dormitories because one child would be left out in this way. Also there were grim accusations of the forcible or secret removal of "tuck"! Some of the children were very small, some parents sent inordinate presents of sweets and fruit, which were left about in the most casual way, some sent none at all.

We tried our best, teachers and hostess, to deal with each situation both by prevention and cure. But in such circumstances it was often very difficult to know how we—the grown-ups—ought to behave. The teacher, who was billeted with us, was a great help, and so was a very admirable "helper," who was with us for the first four months. But now and then we should all have been thankful for the sort of advice that someone specially trained in Child Psychology could have given.

The teachers understood the clique problems better

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than I did; I understood better than the teachers when tears or tempers were the result of tiredness or an incipient cold or bilious attack.

You ask what the children learned? They were so various, there is no general answer, I think. But I can tell you some of the things that I learned.

The fact that my evacuees came entirely from "good homes" taught me some lessons; for instance, I had supposed that, when evacuation came, I should have to deal with children suffering from the effects of bad housing and malnutrition, and supposed that my problems could be solved by country air, the application of oil of Sassafras to dirty heads, hot baths, plenty of milk, and so on. But (for my education, doubtless) it was decreed that the children I had to look after should have none of the ills produced by the inexcusable conditions of so many of our great cities, but should be as healthy and well nourished as my own had been. The troubles we have had, have not been those that could be cured by economists. They were due to the fact that it was with human children that we had to deal, that is, each one of them with their own desires, fears, virtues, and shortcomings, and we, whose duty and desire it was to nourish them, were similarly equipped.

On the whole, I think, I can't generalize, but will merely say that we all enjoyed our six months together and all learned a lot.

May I end then with a sentiment that I should like to echo? Our smallest evacuee had just celebrated a fifth birthday. A brother of thirteen had managed to

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come in by bus for the birthday tea. As I drove him the four miles back to his own billet, he said in a satisfied voice, "I do think evacuation is getting us all a lot of nice friends!"

CHAPTER III

TRIAL AND ERROR

I

“OF the 734,883 unaccompanied schoolchildren evacuated, 315,192 had returned by Jan. 8th.”
—“*Daily Telegraph*,” *January 26th, 1940.*

In the early days of photography we used to be told that “the camera cannot lie.” And the three firsthand reports from widely separated reception areas seem to suggest that the evacuation of schoolchildren was a very great success.

Why, then, are our ears tingling with the shouts of angry voices asking us if we don’t know that the evacuees are dirty, lazy, verminous and, altogether, that the schoolchildren are a disgrace to the Education Authorities?

Have we not heard that Mrs. So-and-So in the North has had a hundred incorrigibly dirty boys?—That someone else in the East has an equal number of undesirable girls?—That a whole village in the Midlands has been invaded by a torrent of lying, thieving creatures of both sexes, and that the one answer given by the housewife to enquiries as to her young guests is, “You should come up and see the state of the beds,”

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coupled with information that everybody is horrified by the children's language?

An accusation so widespread and so serious—containing, indeed, the germ of all the sins in the calendar—cannot be disregarded or considered as the fussiness of the invaded householders.

Are there any real data to go upon? Do the accusations include all the evacuated children, or only those among them who could be rightly known as “difficult children”? If the latter, can any rough idea of the proportion of “difficult children” be given? Are they a majority or a minority?

Is there any system of treatment which will give hope where difficult children have to be cared for?

To a limited extent an answer can be given to both these questions. If it can be proved that most of these unfortunate happenings are the result of emotional reactions, there is hope that in child psychology may be found a system which will cope with each case. Therefore, as in all mental and physical disorders, the important factor is

DIAGNOSIS

First find out exactly what is the matter, and at any rate there is then hope of finding the method of cure.

* * * * *

With regard to the children who have been sent away from their schools, the first thing to discover is whether, in everyday life before the War, there are

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records of other children who have been cured of difficulties and whether a lesson can be learnt from such cases.

The answer is very definite and very assured. In the files of the Children's Clinics, which have sprung up all over the country in yearly increasing numbers during the last ten years, can be found records of cases in which almost exactly the same difficulties have occurred in ordinary life.

I am allowed to quote from a series of privately printed talks on the subject, given by Dr. William Moodie, who was for many years the Head of the London Child Guidance Clinic, and who is now serving in a hospital in France, giving many examples of these analogous difficulties. It must be remembered that the London Child Guidance Clinic was the first Demonstration Clinic to be established in this country on American lines.

Take first the case of enuresis—bed-wetting:

“We find sometimes, in fact very frequently, that there is anxiety; there may be fear. . . . A non-commissioned officer came up to the Clinic about his boy the other day. His wife was dead. The father said: ‘He does it to annoy me—I know, because it only happens after I have reprimanded him for doing something; he’s getting his own back.’ And to the father it was quite obvious that there could be no other explanation. I tried to point out that the boy’s correction might increase his anxiety and increase the tendency, but he could not get that.”

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A BAD BILLET

Compare this with a case reported from the Home Counties of one "Johnny," aged 9½, who was

"Wet and dirty; cowed, bewildered and therefore doing the wrong thing. Billeted with well-meaning but feeble foster-mother and a foster-father of the worst sergeant-major type. When the home was visited, the child was found shut in a scullery, his shoes and stockings taken off so that he should not run away—covered with weals from a severe thrashing."

Here we have much the same condition of bed-wetting through anxiety and fear.

As to treatment, Dr. Moodie, speaking of normal conditions, before the war, states that:

"The first stage in curing, or trying to cure bed-wetting is always to relieve mental tension, to relieve anxiety as far as you can—to smooth out any fears the child may have—to occupy him—to interest him—to work him—to exercise him—to rest him and to feed him."

Let us see what was done with little "Johnny," the evacuee. A social worker helping in the district tells us that he was referred to a temporary clinic combined with a children's home.

"Being made welcome by the staff and children, he was obviously surprised that anyone could like him and accept him as an asset to the Group.

As his fears were gradually overcome, he blossomed

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out, entering with zeal into all communal activities, e.g., gardening, handwork, care of rabbits, etc. He was always ready to do a job for anyone. His standard of manners became based on that of the superintendent, punctilious in 'please' and 'thank you'—he'd run to meet visitors and show them round. The aspiration of his 'h's' nearly blew one away. On leaving the treatment room about a month after admission he turned round and said, 'Thank you *very* much for having me,' and came back from the passage to repeat this. All these demonstrations were completely spontaneous, and appeared as evidence, not of inhibition, but of relief.

The enuresis and faecal incontinence ceased on his entry to the home, and have not recurred in the subsequent two months."

A RUN AWAY

A pre-war case which is even more interesting is one of a child who was "anxious" because of his home conditions. The boy—we can call him George—was about 12, and was extremely disturbed.

"He had run away from home two or three times—stolen to feed himself while wandering about, and yet everything seemed all right, till we discovered that the husband's wife was actually insane. Had been away in hospital for about eight years since the boy was 4. The father could not get a divorce and was living with this woman and they had had three children. It was a good house, the economic status was good; the woman was good to the father and children. But something had given that boy an inkling and his mind was disturbed—'My mother is not dead and they said she was; then

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who is this whom I know as my mother?' He was in a state of acute anxiety as to who his mother was and who these people were he was living with. And it seems almost incredible but we have had a number of families where the child in the house was actually the child of one of the other members of the family. He had been introduced into the house and brought up as one of his grandparents' children.

So you see that you can get anxiety in children through certain of these environmental situations and circumstances such as insecurity, lack of home stability and so on."

It should be noted that Dr. Moodie's talks, from which the two pre-evacuation cases are quoted, were given in the summer of 1938, before the idea of a wholesale evacuation of children had been suggested.

A "HOPELESS" CASE

Compare this second case with a child evacuated from a large city in the North, who had been "moved from one billet to another because of enuresis, head dirty, and was verminous when he came." This boy, whom we can call Charles, was about 9, and was referred to the Social Worker by the Billeting Officer.

"He was moved to his second billet as he was thought to be a hopeless case. He was a very dull, but well-behaved little boy with an angelic expression. The hostess took to him at first, but rapidly lost patience when the enuresis did not clear up and when he seemed to pay so little attention to her instructions."

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How was little Charles's problem to be tackled?

"His hostess was persuaded to come once a week to consult the Social Worker, and his special problems as a dull child coming from a very poor home were discussed and suggestions made for managing him. The enuresis improved almost at once and has now quite cleared up; but lying then became a problem. The hostess was dreadfully upset because he told a neighbour that she could drink more beer than his own mother. As she was a strict teetotaller and was terrified of her neighbour's criticism, this distressed her a good deal. When she tackled him about it he was hurt and it came out that he thought he had been paying her compliments. Unfortunately the child was upset because in trying to impress on him the mischief he had made the hostess made disparaging remarks about his own mother. This kind of situation tended to recur, but the difficulties were threshed out from week to week with the hostess, and to some extent with the child, who enjoyed coming for play to the Social Worker. Without some help this woman would have given up trying to deal with the problems and would not have kept the child."

Here then are four cases, two in ordinary life, and two of unaccompanied child evacuees, in which the teachings of psychology are brought to bear on this same problem of bed-wetting which is so widespread and so disastrous.

II

It will be understood that under war conditions it would be impossible to institute all over the country

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Child Guidance Clinics staffed with a full team of workers. This full team, without the possession of which no clinic is officially recognized by the Child Guidance Council, consists of a psychiatrist or medical psychologist, an educational psychologist, and a social worker with psychiatric training. The last named undertakes what is known as the "field work"—visiting the homes, reporting on conditions, and especially on the relations of the various members of the family and their probable reactions on the problem child.

All that could be done in the first days of the emergency in September was to send out these Social Workers into various parts of the country under the aegis of the Child Guidance Council and the Mental Health Emergency Committee, the doings and organization of which will be found in later chapters.

The "case histories" of evacuated children quoted in this chapter came from these psychiatrically trained Social Workers who were helping Billeting Officers in their work.

BED-WETTING

Here is a mild case of bed-wetting in the Home Counties, the treatment of which has up till now been successful. It should be noted that in this particular area there is a residential children's home, which was in this case used for "out-patient" treatment.

"Jane, a scrupulously clean and well-mannered little girl, is the younger of two sisters from a good home in London. As long as she can remember, she has wet the

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bed two or three times weekly at home. This continued when she was evacuated to H., and she was referred for treatment as an out-patient at the Clinic.

Jane was at first billeted in the house of professional people. Her hostess, though very kind to the children, was not strong enough to cope with the extra work involved, and there was consequently an atmosphere of strain in the house which was sensed uncomfortably by Jane, making her nervous about the wetting and so aggravating the habit.

She was treated for about three weeks while in her first billet, in order to relieve the psychological tension underlying her symptom, thus making a recurrence less likely in new surroundings. At the end of this period she and her sister were re-billeted in a house of a more homely type: since then no bed-wetting has taken place in the subsequent six weeks."

Another case from a provincial town is interesting for the light it throws on the effect of an "exciting and restless" upbringing.

"Caroline, aged 7, was referred by Billeting Officer for bed-wetting. Billeted in a remote farmhouse. Hostess tired of the extra work, but not complaining, asked for medical examination and treatment as she wanted to get at the cause of the trouble. Caroline was a plump, sturdy, talkative child with a very grown-up way of talking. She took the Social Worker from school to the farm, a long walk, during which she told her that she was the only child of theatrical parents—exciting and restless home life with Caroline always in the lime-light. Had danced on the stage in the cinema where her

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parents worked, and had great idea of becoming an actress. Was not getting on well at school and confessed that this was because she had started one week late; could not catch up with the other children and did not like to tell her teacher when she wanted extra help. The hostess was very kindly and sympathetic, had one little girl of her own, a placid, contented child, and made every effort to understand how the enuresis was related to the unstable and unsatisfactory home of the child, and took a lot of trouble to get to know the child's parents and to understand the whole situation. Bed-wetting improved, but regular treatment, further visits, and advice could not be arranged because the farmhouse was so isolated and it was impossible to get the child to a clinic. One or two talks, however, helped to speed up the process of understanding and to give the child a greater feeling of security."

SWALLOWING

Another case of disturbed background is that of Fred, a tough little boy of only 5½ years old, whose persistence in swallowing marbles, nails and bits of pencils was exceedingly alarming. It gives an example of the sort of "explanation" which the ordinary layman finds it hard to credit. But treatment along such lines is often successful, though in this case we do not know the end of the story.

"Fred is the youngest of four children, the eldest 17. Born in a caravan. At 7 days old he was taken into the Infirmary, apparently moribund, suffering from double pneumonia; he was ill and constantly dying for

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six months. For the past two years he has been in a Poor Law Children's Home with his two elder sisters. His father and mother are separated: the latter is said to be a woman of doubtful character, and although living in the neighbourhood, has not visited the children for a year.

Fred attended the local clinic as an out-patient, expressing himself chiefly by play and a flood of accompanying conversation. At his first interview he produced a phantasy of a baby brother upon whom his mother lavished all the love which is denied to him. Mummy suckles this baby, she baths him, she gives him presents, she tucks him up and kisses him. This child of his imagination was both himself, desired and loved as he would be, and also a hated rival, who must be destroyed, swallowed up. While playing he was fascinated by a set of wooden dolls which fit one inside the other, and wished to swallow the smallest, the 'baby one.' As these conflicts emerged into consciousness, his desire to swallow unsuitable objects diminished. The school reports no trouble of this sort for three months, though he occasionally chews wooden objects at home. He is still under treatment."

GANGSTER OR LEADER

Here is a very troublesome case in the Home Counties, the progress of which was interrupted by return to London.

"Henry, aged 9 years 4 months, was an unmanageable hooligan, thief and bed-wetter.

Mother a drunkard, children starved of affection and running wild in the streets, often till after mid-

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night. Henry had become, a fortnight after evacuation, notorious in his village, so that no householder would consent to receive him, and he was accordingly removed to a Children's Home.

It was recognized that Henry was a forceful character, requiring satisfying outlets and freedom for development. Because these latter had been denied him in his home environment, he had expressed himself in various anti-social activities. At the Children's Home he was given affection from all the Staff, with encouragement and praise in his very considerable achievements of skill and usefulness—*e.g.*, gardening, household painting, story-telling, etc.

In his individual treatment he revealed the deep-seated compulsive anxiety that was driving him to make his mark in gangster activities, for lack of better outlets. With the relief of tension obtained through treatment and in a beneficial environment he began to realize a new ego-ideal and a new self-respect. He became the natural leader of the group in its work and play, and a dependable and most lovable member of the household. At the local school the teacher reported that his work improved 'out of all knowledge.'

To our great sorrow and his, he was taken back to London by his mother after a stay of eight weeks. His case is being carefully followed up, and we do not think he will lose all that he has gained."

NEED FOR EXPRESSION

Here is a case from a provincial town in which the exercise of a wished-for means of expression has helped in the child's cure.

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"Margery, aged 9, was a very dull, unattractive, slightly deaf child with adenoids. Had just got over scarlet fever and should have gone away for convalescence when war broke out. Was sent off with a younger brother and sister, for whom she felt responsible. Did not settle down well, was wetting her bed every night for over a month. Looked a thoroughly miserable child.

Billet was changed and new hostess persuaded to regard the bed-wetting as a nervous symptom likely to disappear when the child had more encouragement and a greater sense of security. School Authorities took the trouble to give her opportunities to succeed and chose her to do specially attractive tasks. The child was sent by herself once a week to the Social Worker. In these interviews Margery talked very little, but threw herself upon a provision of chalks and paper which had been prepared for her, and drew and painted with enthusiasm. Her drawings and paintings were vigorous and full of imagination in contrast to her apparently dull mentality. Bed-wetting stopped almost at once, and has not recurred for the last month. In the background was a feckless, complaining mother, always talking of the children's illnesses and deprecating their efforts in every way. In this case the co-operation of the School was of great assistance."

SCREAMING FITS

Here, from the same provincial town, is another case of lack of security which looks like an example of the anxiety and insecurity of the hostess being passed on to the child.

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“Anna, aged 4. Anna was evacuated with her mother and two babies, but, her fifth birthday, on which she became of school age, occurred in the first two weeks. Mother was sent off to another village with the babies, and Anna could not settle at all in a billet. Moved three times because of screaming fits, crying, refusing food, refusing to go to school. Hostess brought her of her own accord to see the School Doctor, who referred her to the Social Worker. Child began to improve almost at once when the hostess felt that she was not entirely responsible and had someone to talk to about the difficulties.” (This looks like an interesting example of the anxiety and insecurity of the hostess being passed on to the child.) “It was decided to let Anna attend the local school as if she were permanently settled in the village and were not an evacuee. This worked very well and, although she is easily upset, she has quite got over the fits of crying and goes to school regularly.”

BAD TEMPER

This, owing to the fact that Anna had never been to school in her own neighbourhood, is not quite so curious as another case in which the local school in a Reception Area was more successful with an unmanageable boy than his home school which he had been in the habit of attending. This child, whom we may call Leslie, was only 6 years old—

“A lively, red-haired urchin, always fighting, apparently very tough, but also sensitive to criticism and anxious to please. Came from a family where the parents quarrelled, were notorious for their violent tem-

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pers. Leslie was the only child evacuated, the baby staying at home with the mother. Was said to be aggressive and unmanageable in his first billet with quiet, elderly people, aggressive and dangerous to other children in school. Billeting Officer transferred him to a remote farmhouse with a young, easy-going hostess with one child. She would have liked a large family of her own, was fond of children, very tolerant, and slightly amused at the failure of other people to deal with this child. At the same time she could see that he was a child who easily became unhappy through his tempers, and she was glad to talk over his problems with the Social Worker who visited regularly. He settled down quickly, but the school difficulties persisted.

The remote farmhouse was situated in hilly country, and the measure of Leslie's aggressiveness is suggested by the trend of his conversation. 'I'd like,' he told his hostess, 'to buy up all these hills and all these houses, and then I'd knock all the people's heads off.'

It was at last suggested that he should be transferred to the local school, which was nearer to his billet, and where the Billeting Officer, who liked him, was one of the masters. He was put into a class with older children because there was not an Infant Class, settled down very well, and gave no further trouble except when he went to Sunday School and came into contact with his old school again."

A WISE HOSTESS

Two more cases must be cited, if only to pay tribute to the wisdom and devotion of their hostesses.

"Nancy, aged 7, was referred by the Billeting Officer

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for dirty habits (faecal incontinence). Billeted with one other child, a very good, adaptable girl of about her own age, in a house where there had previously been no children. Hostess very sympathetic and understanding with the child, but could not help comparing her with the good little girl evacuee. School gave an unsatisfactory account of her, had suspected stealing for some time, knew that her mother was casual about the children and thought to be immoral. Hostess had remarkable insight and connected the incontinence with fits of temper when the child was thwarted. Was anxious for help and advice, and found that she could manage her much better when the day-to-day difficulties had been discussed. Incontinence stopped at once and behaviour in school became more satisfactory as the child settled down into her new home. In this case the hostess was able to see that this was a very complicated child who would need a great deal of understanding and was willing to see it as a serious psychological problem."

III

PATIENCE REWARDED

The other case is perhaps even more remarkable. The wisdom of the working-class hostess in allowing an imaginative outlet to the child cannot be too highly praised.

"Maud, aged 12. Referred to the Billeting Officer as a hopeless case of bed-wetting, dull and backward in school, regarded by teachers as an unpleasant, dirty, lazy, apathetic child from a very bad home.

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There was a great deal of friction between the hostess and the mother, who came over once or twice, wrote abusive letters, and would not, or could not, help pay for clothes. The most striking thing about the child was her extreme misery. She hated the school, could not do the work, had no friends, knew that she was unwanted in her billet, and yet dreaded being sent home, because her father was violent and cruel and she was afraid of being beaten.

The child came once a week to the Social Worker and the bed-wetting improved after her first visit. The hostess, a very poor woman with an unemployed husband, was willing to be patient and to wait for further improvement. She was persuaded not to let her annoyance with the mother affect the child, who was obviously overwhelmed with all her difficulties. Every week this child drew very striking pictures of all her dreams and phantasies, a great many pictures of beautiful ladies dancing, wearing fine clothes, acting in the theatre, and so on. She talked very little, except about her dislike and fear of her father, but a friendly relationship with the Social Worker was established and very real co-operation with the hostess was maintained."

IV

If we go back to Dr. Moodie's talks shall we find in them any light as to a common origin of the difficulties of these seven or eight children,—a common origin may help us to think of a common cure?

I think we shall, and I think perhaps that the common origin will be found to be Fear and Anxiety. In a

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talk given about eighteen months before the War, Dr. Moodie dwells on the consequences of these emotions and on the lines on which a cure should be tried.

“Fear is normal. It is a defence mechanism, as we call it. It is a warning to us.”

It is only too easy to see why the little evacuee Johnny (page 31), who was shut up in a scullery without his boots, should have felt fear. He had had a bad thrashing and undoubtedly expected more. We are told that he was admitted to the temporary Children's Home or Clinic and that the remedies recommended by Dr. Moodie, interest and security, were tried. Johnny was given work to interest him—gardening, rabbits, hand-work—all things dear to a boy's heart; but, above all, he was made welcome. Everybody in the Clinic was pleased to see him. It must have seemed like a miracle and nothing is more touching than his twice-repeated “Thank you for having me.”

So much for the assuagement of Fear. With regard to the second cause of difficulty Dr. Moodie says:

“Another bodily reaction very much like fear is anxiety, though in anxiety, of course, we are worrying about something which has not yet happened—something which we are dreading: bad news, something that we have got to do that we don't want to do. We become anxious about it. There is anticipation about anxiety that you don't get in fear—but you get the bodily changes too. . . .

One of the differences between fear and anxiety is

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that the anxious person is very often anxious about something which never happens."

Was anxiety the cause which made poor little dull "Charles" (page 33) with his angelic expression compliment his hostess with those remarkable stories of her beer-drinking capacities? It was almost certainly anxiety which affected "Anna" when, on becoming of school age, she was separated from her mother and sisters and sent to school.

The treatment recommended is, as we have seen, to occupy the child, to interest him, to work him, and, above all, to give him security. In the first part of this cure those evacuated children who have the advantage of having been moved together with their own schools have an immense advantage. Their teachers know them and, although with sadly diminished apparatus, they can go straight on with their schooling under more or less usual circumstances. But security is a different story. How is it possible under a system of billeting to give security?

There is, and can be, nothing permanent about evacuation and billeting. Long as it may last, it is a makeshift, and the security it gives is only physical security against a danger which the children have never seen.

We should have hoped that they had never imagined this danger did we not know from the Social Workers and hostesses that some children apparently suffered for months from fear lest their parents were even then being bombed.

TRIAL AND ERROR

Here is an instance given by the hostess whose experiences were described as "from the Dales." She did not encourage her dozen or more little girls to look at the headlines in the papers, and hardly a word was said of the war during September and October. They were all under 10, and she assumed that they thought as little as they talked of it. But on two occasions the children came back from school having heard in the village, "Bombers over England," and at dinner asked anxiously, "Did they get to ——?" (the large port in the North-West from which they came).

Their hostess thereupon (as the children had raised the topic) talked about the apparent success that our fighters and anti-aircraft guns had against bombers. The Germans did not seem to venture right across England. In saying this she forgot that one child's parents had moved to London and, observing one still furrowed brow, had hastily to praise the excellence of London's balloon barrage.

But there seemed to be a further question in the children's minds; it seemed to be, "Then why have *we* been evacuated? If it isn't safe for us, why is it safe for Mummie and Daddie?" Their hostess thereupon hastened to talk about the possible upset in transport and of the difficulty there might be of feeding large numbers in the towns—"But here, look at all the sheep and the potatoes and things; there's plenty for you to eat, even if trains do get interrupted for a day or two." This seemed to be satisfactory. During the first hold-up of transport she was careful to rub in this point.

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“But,” she writes, “the whole thing surprised me as the children were all under ten, and for months hadn’t said a word about this very real worry. I wished then that I had said something sooner, but hadn’t guessed in what a grown-up and logical way they had thought about it. I wondered, too, how many tempers and tears in the past it accounted for, and saw in general that I had been as blind as a bat.”

What measure of security can we possibly give to these little creatures whose imaginations are so terribly vivid that their fears and anxieties sometimes bring upon them such sharp reactions in mind and body? To whom can we appeal to help, and on whose tact, unselfishness, and wisdom does their well-being primarily depend?

There can only be one answer: on the hostess.

CHAPTER IV

A FEW WORDS ON HOSTESSES

I

THERE is a Victorian story of a mother who, needing a tutor for her young son, asked a friend to help her find one and sent a list of the qualifications this gentleman should possess.—He must be gentle, but at the same time firm, learned but amusing company, and so on through a whole calendar of virtues. The friend answered after an interval, “I have not found your tutor yet: when I do, I shall marry him.”

Let us apply this anecdote to the hostess of evacuated children, for it is certain that the qualities which are essential for the perfect hostess are those which are sought after by every man in his future wife.

Think of her responsibilities. She must be the perfect housewife and so have considerable powers of organization. She must possess tact, wisdom, and, above all, illimitable patience. A sense of humour is essential to mould together the discordant elements of the real and the “borrowed family,” and, beyond all this, the foundation of her character must be true loving-kindness and unselfishness.

How, we may ask, were these paragons selected?—Examination?—Interview?—What method was chosen? The task was too gigantic.

HOW THEY CAME

Neither homes nor hostesses were selected at all, and in the autumn of 1938 there was more than a hint of compulsion in the plans for reception.

All that September (remember it was in '38, not '39) emissaries of the Local Authorities made their way, armed with large books, into every rural house and cottage, and required the inhabitants to give a true list of every room in the house. It was announced that the householder was to be in readiness to receive a certain proportion of evacuees in relation to the number of rooms. Most anxious consultations took place. "They've counted the kitchen at Mrs. B.'s. If they send us an evacuee to sleep in that, how are we to cook?"

For so acute a crisis as was then expected Draconian methods were no doubt necessary. Any shelter in which the expected "Blitzkrieg" could be endured must be commandeered.

In the comparative lull in which the winter of 1938-9 was passed matters improved a little on the physical side. The householder was listened to on giving the explanation that neither the drains nor the water supply would stand the strain of too great an increase in the inhabitants of the house. But here again the life and death crisis which has not ensued blotted out all thoughts of anything but immediate food and shelter.

"GET THEM OUT"

was the first vital necessity. And out the children were got when the time came, with quite extraordinary success.

A FEW WORDS ON HOSTESSES

In August the teachers, those guardians of the nation's children, were all away on their holidays. Over the air in crowded seaside lodgings, peaceful villages, scattered houses of friends, came at 9 o'clock on a Thursday evening, an order to the London teachers,—"The teachers will be in their schools on Saturday," and the arrangements they were to make were detailed. The schools in Central London came first, and then a long list of those in Greater London, and at once, in the remote country house two hundred miles away, where I was listening, a schoolmaster from Greater London rose from his seat and asked his hostess quietly whether he might use the telephone to make his arrangements.

The call had come.

That was on Thursday, August 24th, and in a week and a day that whole group of holiday-makers were all busy in one way or another on war work. The house where we were sitting was the scene of the second arrival story in Chapter I, and I myself was receiving my own group of children two hundred miles away. The schoolmaster's task of evacuation was complete. Half the homes of city children were empty, half the country homes were over-full, and for thousands of children and of adults the old order of life was shattered.

An unforeseen, and unexpected, chapter followed, which has already lasted many months, but now in May seems likely to come to an abrupt end. In this chapter the heroines are the hostesses who, as we have seen, were not even chosen for their parts, but tumbled into them.

HOW THEY CAME

II

"Opinions," said Alexis de Tocqueville, "are only standpoints," and it is interesting to get at first-hand the impressions of a Londoner, dumped in the course of a decidedly successful evacuation into the inner life of a rural village. The lady who writes came with the school in an official capacity and has seen everything through London eyes.

"On arrival I was struck by the fact that children were chosen for billets. I fancy in London things would have been more businesslike and everyone *told* what to do.

To me village life seems so very divided—all top and bottom with no middle class at all. The upper half of the village wish to take the best evacuees, for apparently cottage folk 'do not mind.'

On the other hand, most children from 'ordinary homes' seem happier with the humbler people of the village—they describe it as more like home.

In large houses, if several children are billeted together, they generally seem very happy because they play together and can share each other's games, toys, pleasures such as birthdays, and in many cases even the visits from parents are shared.

What of Country Food? For myself I have been surprised at the small quantities of food stored in the larder of village houses, and I also expected to find people eating plenty of eggs and vegetables, and drinking milk. Where I have stayed I have had less than I should have had in London. London mothers mostly

A FEW WORDS ON HOSTESSES

make shopping and cooking an art to be cultivated. 'What can I buy?'—'Where can I get best value?' and 'How can I serve this or that meal to make it appetizing for the children?' are everyday questions for London mothers, young and old. We know, of course, though, that many children in the country are now having more regular and plentiful meals than they have ever had, and are no longer heard to say, 'I only like fish and chips.'

Health of Children. We hear on all sides that the children away from London are fitter. This must be especially apparent in districts where children have come from very poor homes—more so, where the 'luck of the billeting,' as I would call it, has put them into well run homes.

Many children have walked long distances to and from school. At first this seemed a cause for pity. Far from it,—the children have learnt to enjoy the walks and are looking bonnier than ever. As the Spring comes these walks will have an educational, as well as physical, advantage, for children are so quick to notice anything new in nature.

Regular meals have helped the children, and most of the children have gone to bed early, and I feel sure that not going to the pictures and having too many outings has been very good for them.

Luckily, too, the children are being inspected in school and are able to attend clinics for eyes, teeth, etc.

In the villages where children are able to attend school for the established school hours, it would appear that evacuation is a real advantage. The billeting question is naturally very vexed, and people are apt to

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tire even of 'well doing,' and one feels that it is best to keep the children out as much as possible.

Changing Billets. This must inevitably take place, but should be avoided as much as possible as it has a very detrimental effect on the children's nerves.

Country Hospitality. To our children and their parents most people have been extremely kind."

III

And here be it said at once that the "borrowed children" spoken of in these pages consist only of unaccompanied schoolchildren.

I know no authentic and attested facts about the mothers with children under five. Rumour speaks of their evacuation as a total and complete failure. The remarkable plan by which the strange mothers were expected by the Government to do their own catering, including cooking, in other women's houses did not sound promising to any housewife. If the Englishman's house is his castle, the Englishwoman's kitchen is the castle keep, with the kitchen stove as the inner fastness, and woe to any stranger who lays his hands upon it!

At first the problem of the unaccompanied schoolchildren seemed in many places to be chiefly physical; but as the days passed into weeks, and the weeks into months, it became obvious that the physical troubles, though very tiresome, were the least difficult to overcome.

Psychologists tell us that "the emotional background of security" is the prime factor in the bringing

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up of a child, and how can we provide security in the paradoxical situation in which we find ourselves today? There are the strange homes in the country in the shelter of which it is believed the children will avoid unspeakable physical danger, but where, because these homes are only "billets," no mental security can be offered. There are the empty homes in the cities, where, indeed, that mental security could have been obtained. And between the two hangs the Menace.

So the parents of city children must choose whether, not for a sudden, short crisis, but for a period of months, perhaps years, they will give their children mental or physical security; for they cannot give both.

I think, paradoxically enough, that one extra source of difficulty might have been avoided if the word "foster-mother" had never been used. Words are powerful things and "foster-mother" implies a permanency of relationship, which is the last thing which should be attempted or desired.

What have been the feelings of the real mother, who has unselfishly given her child for its own good into the hands of a stranger when that stranger has tried to set up as a substitute mother? But, it will be said, the child must have love.

Nothing can be truer, and in the case of real foster-parents, who have undertaken permanent adoption, unselfish love is of the essence of the relationship. But legal adoption, hedged round as it is by the most careful enquiries and undertakings, is a permanent relationship, and the state of a billeted child may be ended

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by either side at any moment. Can it, then, be said to be even kind to the child, not to speak of its being unfair to the parents, to set up a deep emotional relationship which is not intended to be permanent?

Hundreds of women have, however, solved the problem—as they are solving it at this moment—children's nurses. The parallel is not complete, but the child's nurse who comes and lives in the same house as the mother has something of the same problem. She, too, must be loyal to a mother of whom she possibly does not approve. She, too, must give her nurselings love, and yet not allow the relationship to become so close that it cannot be severed without heart-break. It is a hard question, and the hostess of billeted children could learn a good deal from studying the ways of the good nursery nurse.

But there is one thing which the hostess must not stint. That is—her welcome. It is essential that the child, or children, should believe that they are there because their hostess wants them, not because she must have them.

Away, then, with the expression "foster-mother" or "billet-mother," and let the hostess frankly acknowledge her relationship to be impersonal and take as her model the "Nannies" of Great Britain.

CHAPTER V
WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

I

“ON going through the notes of children whom I have seen at — I am rather struck by the fact that those who were regarded as sufficiently bad to be referred to me were practically all children who had been difficult and neurotic characters for a long time prior to the evacuation. Of course, numbers of normal children who were not getting on very well were dealt with by social workers, and, of course, where a child was fairly normal simple arrangements sufficed. The really difficult evacuee seems always to have been a chronic problem.”

So writes a Psychiatrist serving in a clinic established in a Reception Area to deal with evacuees. He has been kind enough to send me records of one or two of these really difficult cases with his remarks attached. From another new clinic, in a different part of the country, also established to deal with the Government Evacuation Scheme, I have received a further list.

Both these clinics are recognized by the Child Guidance Council and are worked with a full team. The second, which is established in the South of England, will, it is hoped and believed, gradually be allowed to deal

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with local cases and become a permanent institution working under the Local Authorities.

As evacuation will remain a living problem as long as this war lasts, I think it will be useful to give a classified record of a few of these more serious cases with the remarks of the Psychiatrist attached.

II

In the first place there are cases in these clinics both of pilfering and of more serious stealing.

PILFERING AND STEALING

An interesting case is that of A. B., a Secondary schoolboy of 14, who is described as "dreamy and absent-minded."

"A. B. has been billeted in a small house—an older and slightly more substantial one in the midst of a new estate—since the beginning of evacuation. He was referred for extreme absent-mindedness, forgetfulness and vagueness. He was said to behave as if he had something serious on his mind, and would sit with his head in his hands, frowning, for long periods. Otherwise he was not thought to be naughty or disobedient, although he is occasionally cheeky to the billet-father. He was a little troublesome over meals and very untidy. He could just remember being in a fever hospital for 6 weeks once but did not know when or what for. His parents were not regarded with great favour by the billet-mother, being rather mean. He has an aunt who was said to be interested in psychological

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

treatment, but although she has been written to she has never answered.

Conditions in the Billet

The house is clean and tidy. It seems to be inhabited by a good many people. The billet-parents apparently share it with an old friend, who is either a bachelor or a widower, and who owns the house, and there are references to other men living there also. The mother is excellent, very motherly (she has grown-up children), sympathetic, and quite a superior type altogether. She is genuinely anxious to help the boy, as she has shown by her treatment of him. She once said she thought she could not keep him any longer, but immediately relented. There is another evacuee from the same school with whom A. B. gets on well. This boy has more money, etc., than A. B.

History of the Case

The boy attended the clinic for some time and was thought to be a fairly normal dreamy adolescent. He improved somewhat, but had ups and downs. The contact with the outside world through the clinic was thought to be helpful. Then the billet-mother reported that she had a suspicion that A. B. had been taking small articles from a near-by shop and from school. She also said that some time before he had been found with 3s. of the billet-father's in his pocket. Eventually she caught him red-handed with stolen sweets. A. B. was confronted with this both in the billet and at the clinic and broke down, promising reformation."

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Here are the remarks of the Psychiatrist and some indications of the method of treatment:

“This boy proved to be a dreamy schizoid¹ youth, from a broken home with an absentee father whom he had been taught to despise. His preoccupation and abstraction were at first associated with his adolescent development and no effort was made to explore his feelings about his home. At a later visit it was revealed that he had been stealing small sums of money in his billet and sweets from a shop. The billet-mother discussed the matter with one of the staff of the Clinic in a visit and gave the information that A. B. was kept very short of money and got much less than the other boy in the billet. On advice the billet-mother, who was most understanding, kept the history of A. B.’s stealing to as few members of the household as possible and advised his parents to give him more pocket money. In discussing the matter with A. B. every effort was made to prevent him feeling himself a hopeless sinner or lose his self-respect and with it any incentive to avoid stealing. He was, however, intensely humiliated by the episode and when it was mentioned at the Clinic wept unrestrainedly. The interview was entirely devoted to encouraging him and he finally agreed that he felt better now that it had all been discussed. He has been much less abstracted and there has been no more stealing. He reports to the Clinic from time to time to maintain a friendly, interested contact.”

¹ Split personality.

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In the same category is Claude, aged 13 years, who was referred by his billet for pilfering:

"This boy from a residential school was billeted with a family living in a council house on a housing estate. He had been with them 6 weeks when he was referred for continuous pilfering. The first night in the billet he took 2*d*. He also came home from school with odd things—pencils, etc. Later on he took things from Woolworth's, probably in company with other boys. He played truant one day from school and on this day also took half a crown. The billet-parents put up with this, but at the time when he was referred to the Clinic they had reached nearly the end of their patience with him. The day before he had gone with the son of the house, a boy of about 14—into the neighbouring town, a mile or two away, and had stolen from a jeweller's shop. The jeweller happened to be an elder in the church of which the billet-parents were caretakers. This was the first time that the boy of the billet had taken part in the pilfering, and the parents were very upset.

Conditions in the Billet

The patient lived with a family, which consisted of mother, father, unmarried daughter of 30, who lived away from home, a married son, also living away from home, a son of 14, who lived in the billet, another boy evacuee, of 11 years, and two little girls, who spent the day in the care of the billet-mother, as their own mother went out to work. The billet-mother was a motherly woman, who was trying to do the best she

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could for the boy, but at the time of referral felt that she could not have him another moment in the house. The atmosphere of the billet seemed comfortable but was temporarily upset by the fear of exposure and the possibility that the two boys would have to be charged. The billeting authorities took a grave view of the case and the school did not wish to interfere as he had been taking small articles from there. It seemed likely that the boy might have to go to a remand home."

And here are the remarks of the Psychiatrist:

"This boy proved to be an attractive, engaging youth. He was found to be anxious, insecure, and craving affection. Most of the objects stolen were given to smaller children and the stealing had developed an almost obsessive compulsive element.

He responded readily to the interest taken in the Clinic and fairly quickly substituted an effort to gain praise and affection in place of thefts which had attracted attention and provided him with a means of making himself attractive to other children.

He also showed a pathetic attachment to the somewhat rough-spoken, if kindly, billet-mother.

Results were at first excellent, but each threat to his security shows itself in either emotional upset or minor theft. It is probable that a permanent foster-home will have to be found for him before he can become permanently established and build up some security for himself."

Here is another case of pilfering, which illustrates a point made by Dr. Moodie that delinquent children

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are very frequently found to be mentally defective (page 117).

"History

This little girl, Ethel, aged 10½, was in a council house with another child, a girl of her own age. The billet-mother seemed a pleasant woman, with two girls of her own. The children all got on well. Soon after her arrival in the billet, the patient began to pilfer jewellery from her billet-mother, and also to hide away the toys belonging to the other children. When found out and questioned she sometimes cried, but more frequently appeared indifferent. She also masturbated, frequently in bed at night.

She was transferred to a girls' hostel, but no improvement in behaviour followed. She appeared to have a craving for brightly coloured jewellery and also on one occasion took a 10s. note from a handbag. She was therefore brought by the matron to the Clinic."

The Psychiatrist remarks:

"On examination she was found to be a somewhat stunted, wizened-looking child, but no definite physical abnormality was found. Suspicious at first, she soon became friendly and answered various questions quite readily: It was noticed, however, that her attention was easily deflected from the topic in hand and that her mental grasp seemed shallow. A routine intelligence test was done and showed her to be a mental defective of a degree too severe to permit of her understanding or conforming to ordinary moral standards. It was decided that she should be sent to a special residential

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school to be given such training and education as would be suited to her very low intelligence."

In the same category and from another part of the country where no advice from a clinic or a specially trained Social Worker could be got, comes the case of a little girl, Sally, aged 9, with a little brother, Fred, aged $4\frac{3}{4}$, who was a bed-wetter and often in the children's words, "filled his trousers." Sally had skin trouble (of a non-infectious kind) which made her self-conscious.

"The boy was very dependent on his big sister, for a long time refusing to let her out of his sight. She was exemplary in looking after him, but his dependence cut her off a good deal from play with the dozen others of her own age in the same billet. She was unhappy.

Back history (gradually learned) was that there is an elder brother of 13 (seen later, appeared to be a good-natured, well-grown lad). There had been a younger brother, the children said, who fell from his high chair on to his head, seemed all right for a week or two, and then died of a tumour on the brain (?). This was told on more than one occasion by Sally. Parents affectionate and rather, but not excessively, emotional."

Although Fred's dependent attitude and the bowel control were improved after $3\frac{1}{2}$ months' evacuation, other symptoms intervened.

"Sally's physical condition much improved, weight and skin condition both noticeably better.

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Sally's relations to other children worsened. She had violent quarrels with another 'little mother,' both taking the side of their small dependents, who were affectionate but quarrelsome. Situation much aggravated by letters from both parents.

Sally's untruthfulness and (?) thefts. This has not improved. It has never been clear whether all the thefts were Fred's or whether Sally had her share. *We* blamed a possibly blameless dog, told the others that they should not leave things about, and in general have done our best to pass the whole thing over. Here again parents (on visits and by letter) have encouraged a censorious attitude among the other children, and there is a history in Sally's case of thefts at school before evacuation (treated, apparently, on excellent lines of tolerance and understanding by the school authorities).

As is almost inevitable, 'Best Friends' and cliques of various kinds developed among the other children.

Sally felt herself completely out of the 'secrets,' etc. She is very demonstrative, constantly making little gifts for the hostess, demanding attention in many ways. But her ambition seemed to be full admission to the world of the children. The hostess, rightly or wrongly, (?) thought that to show her too much special attention might make this more difficult to her.

Sally, after 2½ months is much better in health, but has developed violent crying fits, being unable to eat, go to school, or do anything else. This situation was usually met by pretending she had a temperature, putting her to bed, and giving her a good deal of the craved-for attention. This only worked partially.

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A visitor with some psychological knowledge began (she was in full blast of a crying fit) to tell the others in her hearing tales of burglar friends of his own. The hostess then took the chance offered by a fairy tale (in a collection which was being read to the children) called 'The Master Thief' (triumphant larceny!) and used a brief, playful subsequent refusal of Sally's to do something she was asked to do (very unusual) to pretend that Sally was a terrible pirate and that she (the hostess) was afraid of her. A half playful, half-earnest display of hostility on Sally's part followed. She would for the next four or five days lie in wait and then shout as loudly as possible and as close to the hostess's ear as possible: 'DON'T KNOW AND DON'T CARE!' As hoped, this half-playful, permitted hostility cheered her up. But only partially! What if the situation re-develops? Should a change of billet be tried?"

The Psychiatrist to whom this description of the case was sent, writes:

"The case history you send me is very interesting, but, of course, owing to the lack of a really comprehensive early history obtained from the children's mother, one can only speculate as to the origins of the condition.

It looks as though Sally is suffering from a fairly severe degree of depression and it is not unlikely that the untruthfulness and thefts are part of this condition. In view of the history of a younger brother, who fell from his chair and died, it is not at all unlikely that this precipitated the depression. She may, in fact, be

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a case similar to that of Audrey H., which I sent you previously.

It is evident that Sally feels out of things and people don't like her, and evidently she makes up for this by demanding attention and doing what she can to gain affection. It is quite likely that she feels no one cares for her because of her little brother's death, which she may easily feel, in some unjustified way, was due to her.

As far as treatment is concerned, I think it would be a mistake to overdo the spoiling. So long as she feels she does not *deserve* affection, it will not help much. It might be a great help if when she talked about her little brother's death, another time, someone sympathetic could discuss it further with her and encourage her to express all her feelings about it, looking out especially for her feeling of responsibility for the event. Naturally, this would have to be done by someone with a good deal of understanding of children.

It is not unlikely that a change of billet would be a help. If she could be put with her brother in a home where they were the only children she would feel less out of it with the others and might be able to strike up a good relation with a foster-mother whom she had to herself, but naturally this would only be true if the foster-mother was friendly and understanding.

I shall be interested to hear how this child goes on."

A case of serious stealing is that of George, aged 13, which is given as follows:

"This boy was evacuated to —— in September and got into trouble for some very serious stealing. He had

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taken a number of electrical and geographical instruments from Woolworth's, and other stuff from stationers' and chemists' shops—maps, diaries, travelling clock, vanity case, a pencil set which he sent to his brother in the Army and a lighter to his father—total value £10. He also cut a telephone receiver from a kiosk.

George was the youngest of five brothers and six years younger than the fourth. He was very devoted to his mother, and when she died in tragic circumstances three years ago he became very depressed. Actually he returned home one day from school to find his mother collapsed unconscious in a chair. Before he could get help she died. From this time onwards it appears that he was miserable, mooney and solitary. His work at school went to bits and he became sullen and disgruntled. What friendships he made were almost entirely with bad companions.

He never really recovered from this depression, but his condition became a good deal worse last Easter, 1939, when his father was in hospital very seriously ill. This time G. H. became extremely apprehensive lest his father should die also. When the question of evacuation was discussed during the summer he begged his father not to send him away, saying that he would rather remain in London and be killed with his father.

He was, however, evacuated in September, and very soon afterwards the stealing began. It appears that he had never stolen in London, but soon after coming to — he took up with a couple of regular delinquents who took him with them to Woolworth's. G. H. seems

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to have been squeamish at first, but they laughed at him for it. He then stole.

On discussing this stealing he became extremely upset and said he was very ashamed of it. He was especially worried that he had let his father down and seemed altogether at a loss to understand how he should have got himself into the mess."

The Psychiatrist's remarks are as follows:

"The stealing in this case seems to have come on as part of a generalized depression following his mother's death $2\frac{1}{2}$ years previously. He never seems to have recovered from this tragic event and his depressed condition was made worse, first by his father's illness, and finally by the evacuation, which seems to have acted as a last straw. Unfortunately this boy returned to London, but if treatment could be arranged soon the outlook should be fairly good."

III

THREE CASES OF ENURESIS

These were of long-standing cases of bed-wetting in older boys, I. J., K. L., and M. N. Of these the first is the most interesting.

"I. J., aged $14\frac{1}{2}$, was referred very early by his billet-mother for persistent enuresis. He is rather a childish boy, and his billet-mother was worried because he seemed to have no friends and never to go out. He never confessed to bed-wetting, but would roll up his pyjamas in a heap, cover up his bed, and leave the house as early as possible next morning. The wetting

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happened several times a week invariably. The boy is of comparatively good class.

Conditions in the Billet

The home is a very good one of upper-middle class standards. The billet-mother is alone, her husband being on service. She is a young woman, very active, with two young children. She is extremely kind-hearted and put up with the wetting for a long time without complaint. The evacuees spend most of their time with the maids (3) by their own choice. They seem to get on well and to be happy.

History of the Case

The wetting was very bad when I. J. first came to the Clinic, but he reacted quickly and well to treatment. And there was soon an improvement. He also began to go out more. After some time, he was allowed to lapse for 6 weeks owing to this improvement. The billet-mother reports that he had a bad relapse during this time, and the wetting started again. At the end of 6 weeks, he came to the Clinic again, and has been dry ever since. She asks that he may attend periodically."

The Psychiatrist remarks:

"In this boy's case enuresis was found to be only one element in a general 'babyishness' and refusal to grow up and accept the responsibilities of his age. He was the youngest of three boys of a 'white collar' family and had been protectively brought up by a careful, affectionate mother. Endowed with a sensitive disposi-

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tion and a very superior intelligence, I. Q. 147, the companionship of his more robust and boisterous and less intelligent contemporaries had offered insufficient temptation to him to relinquish his childish dependence on adults. He was on pleasant terms with the adults of the household in which he was billeted and excellent with the children, but did not go out to mix with other boys.

A thorough physical examination enabled the Clinic to assure him that his enuresis did not depend on some physical defect outside his own responsibility. Then a discussion on the lines of the above paragraph was initiated with him, and the difficulties of his stage of growing up and adapting gone into in a 'man-to-man' talk with the Doctor. He proved readily receptive and interested and was prepared to believe that entering into uncongenial activities with his contemporaries would have its reward not only in making him feel better but in actual pleasure once he had made the initial effort.

Results were excellent. He joined a troop of Scouts and got on well there. The enuresis cleared up very quickly and he had only one relapse, cause unknown, before his cure was established. At the final visit to the Clinic he appeared a much manlier, more assured youth. In this case the co-operation and understanding of his billet-mother were important factors."

Of the other two cases, the condition in one was due partly to insecurity brought about by change of billets and partly to fear of the dark. The third case is reported to have been

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“evidently a manifestation of anxiety aggravated by an undue fuss made by his father over it and his belief that he had a physical defect that made it inevitable. Physical examination cleared this up and allowed the Clinic to reassure him and his father. His intelligent, sensible schoolmaster undertook to encourage and interest him in games that would allow him to mix as an equal with his fellows. At the Clinic also a friendly interest was maintained. With the increase of security resulting the enuresis completely cleared up.”

IV

Five single cases are worthy of notice. These relate to Sex Difficulties, Anxiety, Truanting, Jealousy and Bad Temper, and Fear of Dogs.

SEX DIFFICULTIES

Of single cases reported from these clinics, one concerned an over-developed girl of 11.

“On investigation at the Clinic the complaint was found to be that Ruby was lazy, greedy and ‘always putting herself forward.’ When she was corrected, she would contradict the billet-mother, and continually quoted her own mother to prove herself in the right. She gave herself superior airs and seemed to have no respect for anyone. She lamented the absence in the billet of a piano, saying that she was very musical and missed being able to spend some hours a day in practising. The billet-mother also said that she would spend as much time as she could in hanging round with boys.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Home History

Nothing is known of the parents except that the mother is said to be an over-bearing woman. Ruby is an only child and had to spend a good deal of time with her mother. She referred to her father as 'the shrimp of the family.'

Billet Conditions

There was a lack of sympathy between the child and the billet-mother, who was tired of her superior airs. The child referred to this during some of her later visits to the Clinic. She gave a satisfactory reason for her apparent 'hanging round with boys.' She had previously given this to her billet-mother, but felt she was disbelieved and explained no further.

On examination at the Clinic she was found to be physically over-developed for her age, but perfectly healthy. She was intelligent and friendly, and her conversation was that of a schoolgirl of 13 or 14 of the cheerful, bustling, officious type. She made no complaint of her billet at the first visit, but said she would rather be at home, giving the lack of a piano as a reason for this.

Treatment

She clearly needed more outlet for her superfluous mental and physical energy than this billet was affording, and it was decided to transfer her to a girls' hostel, where she could be given special duties of her own to perform, and be made to feel a responsible member of the community.

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Results

She has adjusted perfectly to this new and improved environment. She is helpful about the house and carries out her duties well. She is mildly teased about her superior airs, but takes it in good part. She is also less pushing at school. She is too busy to take any further interest in boys.

Commentary

This illustrates the type of case which does well with a change of environment, in this case the socialised atmosphere of a girls' hostel."

ANXIETY

Another case is of a poor little girl of 8, who suffered from great anxiety lest her parents were in danger in London.

"Queenie showed a good deal of anxiety that her parents had been bombed in London, and also that they did not want her. She had romanced, especially about the wonderful things her mother was buying for her, and had also been fairly difficult and wet her bed most nights during the first eight weeks she was in ——. On one occasion she had sat up in bed and wet the bed deliberately.

Queenie was the middle of three children, having an older brother of 11, and a younger brother of 6. The family as a whole came from an extremely poor part of Fulham and had the reputation at school for being extremely dirty and at times verminous. Her father had frequently been out of work, and mother

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was supposed to drink too much. Once again, owing to inadequate histories, it was impossible to discover details of the child's life. She proved an attractive little girl with big brown eyes, and she had a very charming smile when spoken to. She was talkative and responsive and told various fairy stories which she knew. At school she was said to be rather out of things but to play happily with her dolls.

She was with a very nice foster-mother in — who treated her sensibly, and after a time Queenie's symptoms cleared up. She no longer wets the bed and appears no longer worried about her parents in London. Her foster-mother has cleaned her up and is very fond of her, and she appears to be settling down very happily.

Remarks

This child comes from a bad home, and it seems not unlikely that her parents do in fact not much want her. The romancing of her mother buying her all sorts of things was clearly a compensation for this feeling of being unwanted. Bed-wetting was probably due, partly to a lack of training, and partly to the upset of leaving home.

In this child's case it seems probable that she is a good deal better off with her foster-mother in — than she would be with her own parents."

TRUANTING

A case of truancy in a boy of nine seems to have been the result of anxiety about a younger brother from whom he had been separated.

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"Billeting Conditions"

Stanley, aged 9, had been sent here with a younger brother aged 6. At first they had been billeted some distance apart, but Stanley felt responsible for the younger child and asked the latter's billet to see whether he could be taken in there. The billet-mother was a kindly middle-aged woman who was sorry for Stanley and took him in. After two months she fell ill and the boys were taken home. During this time he had been attending his old school and did not truant.

When the children returned, they were sent to another billet with a young married woman who has two young children, but as the younger evacuee was a bed-wetter and the brothers were rather quarrelsome, the billet-mother said she could not keep the younger. Stanley had had his school moved to a new one, and it was now that he began to truant. He went round to his old billet-mother, giving various excuses to her for not being at school, all of which she apparently believed. When seen at the Clinic the first time, he gave as his reason the fact that he was very worried about his younger brother. The latter was removed, first to a hostel where he remained for a fortnight, then back to a billet near Stanley. The truancing continued. He attended school but not the halls (where the children go when their school is not in session). Seen at the Clinic again he said he had truanted because of anxiety about his brother—where he was, how he was getting on, and the possibility of getting him back in a fresh billet. He agreed that he did not see how inattendance at school would help solve these problems, but said that

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he could not sit still and concentrate when he was so worried.

Treatment

The truanting was in this case the child's solution to a situation that was much too difficult for him. Treatment took the form of altering the circumstances, changing the school, and letting him feel that his brother was being cared for and was not his responsibility, also of reassuring and encouraging him."

JEALOUSY AND BAD TEMPER

"Ursula V., a little girl, had proved very difficult in her foster-home owing to prolonged and violent temper tantrums, great hostility to her younger brother, disobedience, and showing off to her foster-brothers.

She was the eldest of a family of three, having a brother aged six who was in the same billet in — and another aged four who remained at home with their mother. Their father had deserted and was alleged to be 'a bad lot.' Owing to father's desertion, mother had had to go out to work and the children had not been very adequately looked after.

Owing to Mrs. V. not having been interviewed, an adequate history was not obtained. It appeared, however, that Ursula had had these tempers for a long time and had been a difficult child long before she was evacuated. It seemed probable, though it could not be confirmed, that her condition was a good deal worse after evacuation.

She was extremely jealous of her younger brother Willie, aged 6, and lost no opportunity of ill-treating

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him. She was very outspoken about this when seen by me, telling me all his faults and always referring to him as 'my worst brother.' Unfortunately, though not unnaturally, her foster-parents much preferred her brother, and this increased her jealousy. They also criticized her for disobedience and so on, and it was on these occasions particularly that she flared into her tantrums. On one occasion she became quite rigid and it seemed almost like a fit. When she could talk again she remarked with intense hatred, 'I am going to kill Willie, I am going to kill him.' A particularly bad occasion was when her mother left after visiting them one day. She then cried for nearly two hours and complained bitterly that her mother neither loved nor wanted her.

Remarks

The origin of this child's intense jealousy is a little obscure owing to our lack of history. No doubt she was jealous of her younger brother in the normal way, when he was born, but the extreme quality of it could only be due to her having been badly treated and probably severely punished for it either by her father or her mother. As a result of this she seems to have developed a very severe degree of guilt, feeling that her mother did not want her and that she was completely un-love-worthy. The temper tantrums were, as is usual, a mixture of rage and despair.

This child is being re-billeted apart from her brother and it will be interesting to see how she does. Without prolonged treatment, she will remain a very difficult and neurotic character."

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FEAR OF DOGS

An even younger girl, Winifred, aged 7, was referred to the Clinic for behaviour difficulties which had shown themselves by an unreasonable fear of dogs.

"History

An institution child—mother known to be alive, and living in a very poor area in London. Nothing is known of a father, though the child occasionally mentioned a father. Child has been at residential school for 4 years. School know nothing of this fear. They report that she lacks concentration in school, and that she is timid and suspicious.

Conditions in Billet

She has been in billet since the beginning of evacuation (6 weeks at time of referral). Family consists of young mother, father, boy of 9 and girl of 3. Children get along well. Complaint amplifies itself into the following: child will rush out into the middle of the road if she sees a dog on the pavement. She will stroke one if urged, and play with toy ones, but is frightened if she sees one on the road. She will not go out to play, and is keeping the billet-children in the house. She is infecting the little girl with fear of dogs. She seems stupid in the house when she is playing; will play with a stick for hours.

Billet-mother is rather unsympathetic towards her. She is sorry for her as the child has no home, but is lukewarm when asked if she likes the child. She says

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she has asked the child why she is frightened of dogs, but has got no reply.

On examination the child was found to be healthy, of normal intelligence, though backward in school subjects. She was very shy and timid, and shrank back when addressed, looking as if she thought she was to be hit. The first interview was devoted to gaining her confidence, and at the second a history of a bite from a dog about a year previously was obtained. A talk about dogs and reassurance seemed to help her. She was also conditioned to enjoy their company. The fear disappeared. Meanwhile a very good billet had been found, with a woman who wanted a girl (the previous billet-mother had really wanted a boy). But a new series of symptoms developed.

Development of Case in New Billet

The fear of dogs had disappeared quickly, but it was felt to be a symptom of an underlying behaviour disturbance, so a watch was kept on her. After about a month in the new billet the billet-mother reported that she had taken to frightening the little girl, that she was possessive and greedy and wanted everything for herself. The family consisted of three girls—11 years, 9 years, and 3 years. The baby was afraid of balloons and the patient had been deliberately frightening her. She also told her tales of aeroplanes flying over her, and of murders just before they went to bed and the baby thereupon had nightmares.

Billet-mother was kind and sympathetic, but felt that this could not go on.

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Treatment

This was a case in which the child, through poor environment at home in her early years and the lack of love and personal touch in the school (good though it was), had developed a strong sense of fear and insecurity. She was attempting to obtain consolation for her own strong fear by making some other child frightened. She had a strong motive in fixing on the smallest one as there was a good deal of unconscious jealousy at work. Play therapy, with a view to working off some of this fear, was undertaken, and at the same time advice to the billet-mother in dealing with the situation was given. Attendance at the Clinic is still continuing, but the billet-mother reports that she has improved in every way. She is less possessive, and only attempts occasionally to frighten or hurt the other child. The situation is delicate as the billet-mother does not wish to hurt her own child by favouring the other—share and share alike is the rule, yet the patient keenly appreciates a small treat which is not shared by the baby. However, as the improvement seems to be maintained, and the school also report that the child is less frightened and can concentrate better than she used to, it is hoped that the knowledge of security and some small possessions of her own, coupled with the regular visits to the Clinic, will completely clear up the case."

The above cases may be useful as a proof that difficulties of children are only developed, not caused, by Evacuation. They will give bewildered hostesses some idea of the help which may be obtained by referring

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difficult children to Child Guidance Clinics for psychological diagnosis and treatment.

It may be hoped that Local Authorities will take the lesson to heart and that, as a result, a chain of small clinics may be established throughout the Provinces working under the County Medical and Education Authorities.

PART II

WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE

CHAPTER VI

COLLECTING THE FACTS

I

ONLY trained workers could have provided most of the reports we have quoted about the psychological effects on children of Evacuation.

Who were these workers?—Isolated volunteers or workers detailed by a Mental Health organization to visit and report on Rural Areas throughout the country? The answer is that they were workers sent out, not by one Mental Health society, but by five leading organizations banded together into one Committee to pool the means at the disposal of each separate Committee and to use them for the benefit of the community. These five were: The Central Association for Mental Welfare, the Child Guidance Council, the National Council for Mental Hygiene, the Association of Mental Health Workers and the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

The situation had been foreseen. After the Anschluss—the occupation of Vienna on March 12th, 1938—after the growing crises of that summer, and after the threatening pause of Munich on September 29th, 1938, everyone interested in Mental Health was convinced that it would be well to make use of and

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organize the increased knowledge of psychology which had been acquired by the medical profession to deal with the war crisis which might lie before us.

How was this to be done without the overlapping of all the societies interested in psychological problems? Fortunately here there was a model to hand. On February 27th, 1936, five societies concerned with Mental Health had approached Lord Feversham and asked him to act as Convener and Chairman of a Committee comprising their representatives and other experts in Mental Welfare "with the object of preparing a Report embodying suggestions on broad lines for the eventual bringing together on a national basis of all the voluntary Mental Health Services in the United Kingdom."

After making some eminently practical suggestions, Lord Feversham summoned an inaugural meeting, and in the Spring of 1936 the first meeting of what was known as the Feversham Committee was held, and continued till the summer of 1939, when their unanimous Report was published.

Here was a practical model for the inauguration of a Mental Health Emergency Committee. The five societies forming this new Committee were not absolutely the same as those which had formed the Feversham Committee, for the Association of Mental Health Workers and the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers had replaced the Home and School Council and the Mental After Care Committee.

On January 29th, 1939, the Mental Health Emer-

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agency Committee held its first meeting and proceeded to consider its plans.

In July (1939) the Child Guidance Council, with the approval of the Commonwealth Fund, which had with unexampled generosity almost entirely financed it since 1927, appointed a social worker for peace-time educational work, and it was resolved at the request of the Mental Health Emergency Committee, that, should war break out, her services should be placed at the disposal of that Committee for War Work. Mrs. Henshaw, an educational psychologist, was appointed to this post, the date on which her service was to begin being September 1st. So there was a nucleus of staff for the carrying out of the scheme of the M.H.E.C. for co-operation between Evacuation and Reception Areas, and for the possible organization of special care for evacuated children suffering from mental and emotional difficulties.

Naturally, one worker was pathetically insufficient for the task to be accomplished, but at any rate the outline of a frame was provided within which, with the concurrence of the Local Authorities, the necessary work could be carried on.

Detailed points as to the growth of this Mental Health work need not be set down here. Suffice it to say that since September the M.H.E.C., with the active co-operation of that great organization, the Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defence, have prepared a Register of Full-time Salaried Social Workers in the Mental Health field. The Committee had in the sum-

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mer approached the Ministry of Labour on the question of getting the above-mentioned workers placed upon the Register of Reserved Occupations, and this had been done.

This Register of Full-time Workers was supplemented by a Register of Part-time and Voluntary Workers. A Clearing House of Information had also been set up in respect of both adults and children whose medical and social history was already known. A letter and leaflet enlarging on the above services was circulated in September to Directors and Secretaries of Education, School Medical Officers, and Billeting Officers. The letter also informed the Local Authorities of the Committee's loan service of Social Workers in Mental Health, and suggested that these Authorities should appoint a Mental Health Worker themselves or meet the expenses of such a worker in the Receiving Areas.

Those counties which have accepted this suggestion carry out the organization in different ways, but as a specimen of a very complete scheme in the Home Counties I am allowed to quote the report of Miss Alcock, late Senior Play Therapist at the Tavistock Clinic, London, and research worker at Caterham Mental Hospital.

"CARE AND TREATMENT OF DIFFICULT CHILDREN IN HUNTINGDONSHIRE, SEPTEMBER 1939 TO FEBRUARY 1940

The impact of some 6,000 city children upon a rural population of 56,000 was bound to produce some de-

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gree of shock. In the early days of September it was apparent that this shock was considerable! The telephone bell seemed to be ringing unceasingly: 'Such and such a village has twenty bed-wetters; they are in despair about it.'—'The Billeting Officer reports that three children have been left on his doorstep; they have behaved so badly that nobody will have them.'—'A child at —— walks and screams in her sleep, terrifying the other children in the house. Can you help us?'

Fortunately, as early as the beginning of 1939 the Women's Voluntary Services in Huntingdonshire foresaw that difficulties might arise among children evacuated from their homes, and took measures accordingly. At a meeting of the Huntingdon County Committee of the W.V.S. held on July 25th, 1939, Dr. Anne Connan, the assistant County Medical Officer of Health, suggested that provision should be made for dealing with the cases of emotional maladjustment that might be expected among children removed from London to the country in the event of war. A resolution requesting the authorities to consider the appointment of a worker with knowledge of Child Guidance to help with these problems was passed unanimously and sent to the Ministry of Health. This resolution being on record, the Headquarters of the W.V.S. in London took advantage of an offer of service from Miss A. T. Alcock, late Senior Play Therapist at the Tavistock Clinic, London, and research worker at Caterham Mental Hospital.

On September 3rd Miss Alcock began working on the various problems arising out of evacuation in Huntingdonshire. She was later joined by Miss Doris

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Wills, Educational Psychologist to the Portsmouth Child Guidance Clinic. Miss Alice Fawcett, a Psychiatric Social Worker, also gave valuable help from early November till Christmas while her London Clinic was temporarily closed.

The work was at first carried on under the auspices of the W.V.S., though with the careful supervision and most kindly co-operation of the County Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Moss-Blundell. On the 1st January, 1940, however, Miss Alcock was appointed to the staff of the County Medical Officer as Child Guidance Officer with the sanction of the Ministry of Health.

In many cases the primary need was to bring about a better understanding between foster-parents and child, and this being established, the problem not infrequently disappeared. For example, most country mothers looked on bed-wetting as a disgusting habit which the child could control at will, and therefore rated the offender soundly. It was explained that the wetting might be only a symptom of emotional upset caused by the child's sudden separation from his parents, just as other disturbed feelings would produce the physical manifestation of a blush; neither habit would cease to order. This new point of view served to make the foster-mother feel kindlier towards the child, whose anxiety was thereby decreased and his symptom also.

Referring of Cases

Up to the end of February, 1940, 142 cases of mal-adjustment among children were referred, of whom 131 were evacuees and 11 local children. The great

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majority were made by doctors, billeting officers, or school teachers.

Nature of the Work

In this emergency child guidance there are three main activities.

(a) *Visiting Foster-homes in which Difficulties have Arisen.* This involves interviews, not only with foster-parents and children, but with medical officers, billeting officers, school teachers, etc., etc. In some cases a change of billet is advisable, but often it is possible by advice and sympathy to overcome these difficulties sufficiently to enable the child to remain happily in the same billet. Not infrequently it is found that householders and children are in desperate antagonism because neither feels that their point of view has been considered. If, on the other hand, both have a sense that their troubles are being treated with sympathy, and if they have an opportunity of unburdening their souls to some outside person, it is surprising how often these difficulties disappear. In many cases children have become unruly because they have not had enough constructive outlets for their energies, and the provision of play material and opportunity for organized recreation will do much to ease matters.

(b) *Establishment of Child Guidance Centres.* Four centres to which parents and foster-parents may bring children for advice and treatment have been established in different parts of the county, and a fifth is to be opened shortly. The Medical Officer sees all cases who require her attention. Special cases can also be referred to the visiting psychiatrist who holds a Mental

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Health clinic in Huntingdon. Treatment in the centres is of three kinds:

1. Advisory.
2. Group play.
3. Direct treatment of individual children.

In the group play a number of children use special play material under trained supervision. They find both an outlet for their super-abundant energy, which might otherwise be occupied in anti-social activities, and also learn gradually to find satisfaction in working with, instead of against, their fellows. Direct treatment is carried on mainly by means of what is known as play-therapy, a method by which the child may use play rather than words as a means of expression, so avoiding self-consciousness or introspection, and incidentally having an extremely happy time.

(c) *Homes for Difficult Children*. Shortly after the outbreak of war a home at The Grove, Godmanchester, was opened for those children who, for various reasons, cannot remain billeted in ordinary homes. Twenty children at a time live here. To approximate as far as possible to the conditions of a large family rather than an institution, they are of both sexes, and of ages varying from 6 to 13, an experiment which has been amply justified so far, since the children, who were, before admission, all unhappy to some extent, form a notably happy family. To avoid unnatural segregation, they all attend the village school and many of them join in local activities such as cubs, scouts and guides. Two are even in the village choir! There is often much sadness when the time for rebilleting comes; one child, on the

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day fixed for his leaving, claimed, quite without justification, to have wetted his bed the night before, as a reason for being kept in the home. Children are admitted for a wide variety of complaints, persistent bed-wetting, depression that does not yield to environmental or clinic treatment, general nervousness, and a number of behaviour disorders. In the home they receive both a favourable environment and direct treatment. Activities are encouraged which provide for healthy release of energy combined with the joy of achievement. Among these are gardening, wood-chopping, designing plaster and *papier maché* models, and painting on a large scale. This latter includes not only the making of imaginative pictures, but much of the interior decoration of the house.

Summary

Looking back over the first six months of evacuation, it is difficult to estimate the final result of such work as has been described in outline. It has many shortcomings, but, thanks to the foresight and excellent organization of the county authorities, it has been possible to do much to alleviate present difficulties and perhaps to safeguard children against more serious emotional maladjustments in the future. Certainly the contact with so many children uprooted from their own homes provides an opportunity for gaining further insight into the conditions which prevent or which induce mental health and happiness in childhood."

II

With regard to the ever-present subject of enuresis,

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Littlehampton has evolved a special scheme of treatment passed by the Medical Officer of Health:

“Particularly picked foster-mothers agreed to take these cases with a view to training them if possible.

Each child is seen by its doctor and if he advises treatment it will be arranged for.

The billet is visited weekly, and notes taken of any difficulties.

A grant of 6s. 6d. over and above the ordinary billeting allowance is paid to the foster-mother by the visitor, to cover the cost of laundry and special care. This is applied for weekly to the Billeting Officer at the Council with a list of the billets and addresses, and the foster-mother signs on the form of application against her own name. This is to continue till the child is cured or other arrangements are made for it.

The scheme has only been running since the beginning of December, and the cold weather and excitement of the Christmas festivities have caused some irregularities, but there is a definite improvement in most cases.

Foster-mothers are ordinary foster-mothers of good common sense and patient. One or two have had special training. One was a probation officer before marriage, one was a sick nurse, one was a ‘Nannie.’

Choice of Billets

Rooms in the billet are inspected and in nearly every case it has been possible to arrange for a separate bed for the child. Bed-linen and night-clothes are inspected and, if necessary, supplemented. Warm and sufficient day clothing is insisted on, boots as usual

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present the most difficulties, and are so essential that they have been provided privately in some cases. Absolute cleanliness in person and clothes and bed-linen is urged continuously. Tea-drinking at tea-time is discouraged, but advise plenty of water during the day. Milk or some milky drink at tea-time. Pamphlet No. 83 'Bed Wetting,' published by the 'National Baby Week Council,' has been given to each Foster-mother, and has been of great use to them.

Special Treatments in Particular Cases

One boy aged 12, noted as a 'confirmed bed-wetter,' has an alarm clock set to 4 a.m.; he rouses himself. He is completely aroused by the foster-mother at 10 p.m. This treatment was completely successful, except for a bad lapse after a week's visit home for Christmas.

One child 6 years of age. Foster-mother had own baby and each child had a chart, the boy marking his own and competing with the baby. Each Sunday morning after a dry week a stick of chocolate appeared under his pillow. This child is practically cured, though he had attended hospital regularly for some years for this trouble following an attack of measles.

Girl of 9 years of age. Came down with a reputation of incurable enuresis. The mother sent word to the foster-mother of this. It was a heavy fat child eating enormously of starch foods at tea-time. The foster-mother cut down the starch diet, and the amount eaten at tea-time, and treated her with firm kindness; the child has gone as long as 7 weeks without a lapse, though there is still an occasional one.

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We find that, as advised in all the literature on this subject, a system of cheerfulness and firmness, plus rewards, gives the best results."

This is entirely in line with Dr. Moodie's pre-war statement:

"The first stage in curing, or trying to cure bed-wetting is always to relieve mental tension, to relieve anxiety as far as you can—to smooth out any fears the child may have—to occupy him—to interest him—to work him—to exercise him—to rest and to feed him."

Mrs. Henshaw, the first Social Worker to be appointed by the Mental Health Emergency Committee, took up work at Bradford, and a report by her was published in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* on December 8th (1939). This dwells chiefly on the difficulties encountered in the billeting of slum children in the country and throws an interesting light on the problems of wandering. To the January number of the new quarterly, *Mental Health*, Mrs. Henshaw also contributes an interesting paper on "Some Psychological Difficulties of Evacuation." Unfortunately she defines Evacuation as "a temporary foster-homing," which, to my mind, is a misleading use of words. The word "home" should be kept to its proper meaning, of which one definition (*Oxford Dictionary*) is "the place of one's dwelling and nurturing *with its associations*"—a definition which no billet can, or indeed should, be stretched to cover. The outcome of Mrs. Henshaw's work has been that the Education Committee at Bradford is

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establishing a full-team clinic, at which Mrs. Henshaw will be employed as part-time psychologist.

Mrs. Henshaw in her newspaper article hints at the good effect which "the freedom of the country" has had on many children. A more detailed account of this good effect is contained in a report from another part of the country as to a brother and sister whom we will call Peter and Ada, of the ages of eight and five, who attended their respective L.C.C. schools in London.

"Actually these children's names might have appeared on original report as examples of perfect adjustment. As there has been an interesting sequel, the following might be of some interest.

Both are fair, rubicund, and have pronounced casts. Peter, except in reading, was of normal attainments, a happy disposition, and always appeared well groomed. His sister, suddenly confronted with thirty strange boys, made no fuss, proceeded to make the best of the very limited equipment available, took her afternoon rest quite happily on a wooden settle. She took a noticeable pride in her appearance. After modelling, she went alone to another building, washed, returned speedily and left the basin, etc., in good order. Their manners at table were quite good considering social environment. After a time Ada announced that she hated school in London and, as she described it, 'being hit.' She was busy the whole time and made excellent progress. They were in an excellent billet—farmer with one son—and gave no trouble.

On November 1st their elder sister (13) appeared for enrolment at the voluntary homework class, she made

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me further attendance and returned the book in an extremely dirty and dilapidated condition. Two days after, an aunt appeared to enrol her small daughter. Disappointed that the class was full, she proceeded to give a detailed account of the family, at home, at leisure and at school. After some days, discreet enquiries were made from less prejudiced sources. In the language of the district, they were 'devils,' especially Ada, who seems to possess a large vocabulary of street terms. At school she loved to drench herself with water. Peter and Ada remain in the Reception Area, Elsie returned when payment became necessary."

I am allowed to publish a long report of the evacuation of a London school with an old Foundation, of which the boys' side was evacuated whole and attempted to keep up its traditions.

"In this school the pupils are of an average social class, the parents being chiefly skilled workmen, owners of small businesses or blackcoated workers. There are no necessitous pupils. At present the roll of the boys' department numbers 250. Of these, 80 joined the official evacuation party, while a few more travelled with elder brothers or sisters attending other schools. On the whole, it was the poorer pupils, those from homes where conditions were inharmonious, and the Jewish pupils who formed the majority.

Journey

The train journey occupied nearly three hours. Few had been so far, yet they settled down with the air of experienced travellers, reading and exchanging papers

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or discussing passing objects of interest. It was accomplished without casualty or grumble. Altogether, considering age and the emotional strain to which they had been subjected, an interesting experience.

Railhead-splitting of Party

At the railhead the party was divided into three, hence family parties were separated. In no case did the younger brother fret, though in many cases this was the first separation, but all decided to remain alone. One brother in the top form cried for three days for the younger brother, who stoutly refused to join him. In the party of 28 sent to a single village, six members had brothers in upper school. In one case a Jewish boy had a brother billeted some miles away, who immediately cycled over. The younger evinced no special pleasure at the unexpected reunion.

Receiving Area

The receiving area for members of lower forms was a hamlet occupied entirely by smallholders. A large proportion of the houses are four-roomed cottages. The party was received with distaste, as girls were expected, and, in one case, the wife of the chairman of managers, the small and docile brothers were refused:

Billeting

The billeting committee, composed entirely of women smallholders, was not interested in the individual. Members of the staff were not present. Requests were merely sent for the number required with no indication of the type of home offered. Hence it

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was only possible to ensure that obvious misfits did not occupy the same billet.

Reactions to General Environment

As the district is one vast market garden, it was to be expected that the boys would adjust themselves satisfactorily. A number became intensely interested in grading and packing, others evinced greater interest in horses or other livestock. On the whole, it was the better type mentally and socially who adjusted themselves to this striking change in environment. Some had experienced rural conditions, but the majority had only visited seaside resorts.

There was, as one expected, the desire to chase, capture or kill unfamiliar creatures, or those seen in a new environment. It was interesting to note that by the end of the month one of the worst offenders found a rare spider, which he carefully preserved and brought for exhibition, and to obtain information. Those who found adjustment difficult took part in organized games and rambles until school opened.

The splitting of the school party was especially unfortunate. The tradition of the school and their house stood for a good deal with the older pupils. House meetings and matches were impossible, but if, as had been expected, the school had remained a unit, its corporate life could have continued. As, with one exception, no member of the party was over 12, the cessation of these valuable activities was bound to produce unfortunate reactions in some of the older pupils.

Food

On the whole surprisingly little difficulty was experi-

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enced. The four Jewish pupils behaved with praiseworthy restraint. The local custom of commencing dinner with pudding or dumpling raised comment, but there it ended. Pupils' relations with staff are excellent, and any difficulty freely discussed.

School

A room and the school dining-hall (housed in a separate building) afforded adequate quarters. Equipment meagre. No library, or any reading matter, except history and geography textbooks."

Certain disciplinary troubles due to dual control developed through the boys of this school becoming involved with the village school.

"At home these are almost unknown. Rules are few, and there is little difficulty in enforcing them. House and vice-captains assume certain responsibilities. In the village school, discipline is rigid. The contrast had unfortunate repercussions. A boy with an exemplary elder brother constituted himself leader of a group of the duller and easily led, thus causing friction with the resident head. The school has a girls' department and there has never been difficulty. The village boys seemed undersized and physically unattractive, while the girls were definitely their superiors in looks and physique. The latter endeavoured to attract the attention of the visitors, then, finding this effort met with an unexpected response, retreated and complained. The resident head accepted the explanations offered, and the problem solved without friction."

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Of the cases quoted from this school, some with favourable reactions and some with unfavourable, the following are selected:

“Edward, aged 10; very intelligent, father dead, elder brother with another section. Some years ago, there was difficulty with the woman who looked after him during day. His intimate friend was billeted with another pupil and deserted him. Though well and warmly clothed, fussed about cold, insisted on wearing overcoat at ‘break,’ a very unusual proceeding. Developed feminine traits, shrugging, grimacing, and unable to converse with an adult without smiles and gestures. Insisted on riding about 400 yards to billet. At home he walks over half a mile. Refused to play, and ignored his former friend. This went on for some time until potato lifting began. The construction of the ‘graves’ interested him, and on advice asked to be allowed to help. Up to date he behaved normally.”

“Robert and Harold, both aged 10; were sent to the home of a very elderly man, with a family of grown-up sons. He complained bitterly of the noise, etc. No notice was taken, he became morose, and after the lapse of about a week attacked a son and was removed. The first is very highly strung with a history of meningitis, the second one of family of eight brothers, of whom two are subnormal. Soon after this unfortunate episode, they became absorbed in the construction of an elaborate air-raid shelter.”

A certain number of children returned to London. Among them were two brothers:

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“Richard and Oliver, aged 9 and 8 respectively. Very spoiled. Two sisters aged 19 and 21 sole members of family. Foster-parents gave up bedroom, and foster-mother her work, to have more time to devote to them. Mother arrived and spoke disparagingly of accommodation, but conceded that these people were doing their best. Mother is approaching climacteric. The younger became unwell, sore throat and pimple—wrote to mother begging to return. She removed without husband’s knowledge or consent.”

In the case of this school the Billeting Committee did not seem to have realized the difficulties of the task before them. Hence trouble arose in the form of returns to London and, at best, re-billeting—a practice which is attended with more danger to the child’s well-being than is always realized. In an unpublished paper on the billeting of unaccompanied school children a psychiatrist writes of re-billeting:

“This should be regarded as a far more important step than a simple physical transfer. The child has to face afresh all the difficulties of settling into a strange house and with each change will feel less confident and take longer to settle. In the present evacuation difficult children have been billeted from three to five times, increasing their problems to such an extent as to make them unbilleteable. Re-billeting should always be done by specially skilled and experienced workers.”

Two notable collections of the facts in two very different districts are Dr. Susan Isaacs’ *Cambridge Survey*,

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which will be quoted from in a subsequent chapter. I have also been allowed to quote from a lengthy report in two issues by the Association of Architects, Surveyors, and Technical Assistants, the first dealing with accommodation in Reception Areas in general terms, and the second being a detailed account of what actually happened in a large district in Berkshire, *i.e.*, Wantage and eleven surrounding villages.

This report is entitled *Evacuation in Practice: A Study of a Rural Reception Area*. Full as it is of statistics and maps, this study gives an admirable bird's-eye view of a country district in which the social conditions of the villages are completely dislocated by the sudden influx of evacuated Londoners. The problem of the mothers and children does not concern this book: indeed, it solved itself in a very short time by the almost wholesale return of this group to London. But a very large proportion of schoolchildren remain, with all the problems, educational, psychological and physical, with which we are becoming familiar.

A curious point may be noted in this report, which will be confirmed by the experience of many of us—that, although it is universally acknowledged that dreadful trials were experienced by other people, the children in any particular village are mostly noted by their hosts and hostesses as being “a very nice lot” and the inhabitants are of opinion that they are very fortunate in having them. I am coming to the conclusion that the impossibly dirty, naughty children are like ghosts—only seen by one's neighbours.

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With regard to the "difficult" children, of whom we have heard so much in other parts of the country, we are not told of any specially appointed Social Workers being employed. The Report says:

"Minor complaints arising in the first weeks were dealt with locally and the emergency provisions made by the County Council were not utilized. In fact, local opinion was strongly against sending the 'difficult' children to the house that has been taken over for the purpose and which serves about half the county. It was felt that the institutional character of the treatment and the segregation of the children might have harmful effects on them, and that the alternative of sympathetic local treatment, during which the children were not cut off from their schoolmates, was altogether better. In this way many cases of bed-wetters were taken in by a woman who was able to cure most of them."

The Report comes to the following conclusions on billeting:

"In general the foster-parents accept the position, but we found no one who had considered the possibility of the present arrangements lasting for three years. Though those who still have children are making the best of things there is universal resistance to the idea of any further evacuation, and everyone feels that the experience of the first days of evacuation especially, must never be repeated.

On the other hand, there are strong indications that billeting can, if its peculiar problems are properly

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faced, remain the form of accommodation for many of the children. For after twelve weeks, which is no short period, the majority of the children still remain in spite of the fact that there has been no assistance from the central authorities for any positive measures for their welfare. Some villages could be described as happy, one was certainly the reverse, and the prevalent atmosphere seemed to be governed to a large extent by the development of communal and organized life. A Women's Institute or similar body would often act as a nucleus around which the foster-mothers could discuss their problems and gain a social outlook and spirit of friendship which helped them over many of their troubles.

The verdict of our first Report, that if billeting is to continue certain positive measures must be undertaken, would therefore appear to be confirmed. The individual responsibility of the foster-parent must be relieved and the teacher must be able to play his full part. This means the commencement of full-time education for both local and evacuated children and the provision of communal midday meals. In this way the foster-parent would be free throughout the day, with the possibility of relief in the evenings, and the teacher's task would be clarified and his responsibility made clear."

This, and many other hopeful arrangements for relieving the hostess during the greater part of the day are, however, in practice apt to be brought to nought by the question of illness—especially infectious illness. How is the hostess to be "free throughout the day" if

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the children are either ill or going through the long period of incubation—21 days in mumps, chicken-pox and measles—when children who are “contacts” are not allowed to go to school.

On the problem of Education the report has much to say, but that is a matter of such complexity and difficulty that it must be left to be dealt with elsewhere.

CHAPTER VII

RUNNING WILD

"Total number of elementary school children	5,000,000
Number attending school full time . . .	3,500,000
" " part time . . .	700,000
'Unaccounted for'	800,000."

(*The Minister of Education broadcasting in March, 1940.*)

"Compulsory education is to be reimposed."

That is what we all read in our newspapers in the early days of February. True, the four words "as far as possible" had to be added to the announcement, but even so the thousands of children who had been running wild in the town areas for five months would be given a certain amount of education, discipline, and help in the matter of health.

Short-sighted but well-meaning people who think school for small children chiefly useful as delivering their elders from their company will content themselves with quoting, "Satan findeth mischief still, For idle hands to do." But is this all? Will not the child in after-life suffer even worse effects in mental health from a tendency to mischievous idling?

Everyone has heard of Intelligence Tests, and the

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most unscientific of us have always made a rough estimate of the mental age of any child in whom we are interested, saying, for instance, of a child of nine, "He's so clever, he's more like a child of eleven," or, "He's so stupid that you would think he was no more than six."

For the last thirty years standardized tests have been given to ascertain the age of a child's mind, which can be done very much more accurately than, say, in the sentence quoted above. In the talks on Child Guidance quoted in the second chapter these standardized tests are defined in untechnical language by Dr. Moodie as follows:

"If a child's life age and the age of his mind are the same, he is 100 per cent—he is normal. If his mental age is behind his life age, then he is subnormal—dull. If his mental age is above his life age, then he is super-normal—he is bright."

Dr. Moodie goes on to explain that these questions affect school work, but are far from being only an educational problem.

"They affect the individual in innumerable ways, just as any mental stress affects individuals in innumerable ways, depending on themselves. So I am just now going to take one or two of the more common ways in which one finds educational failure or school backwardness linked up with problems. . . . I wonder if you know this little boy. He is about 7, extremely cute and rather pert, excitable, does not sleep very well, his mother can't take him out to parties because he gets so

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excited; when he comes back he is very often sick, being made so by excitement. He is sick in trains and cars, he is nervous of strangers, new places, probably afraid of the dark—I said he was 7. When you interest him in things in which he is interested he shows a great deal of understanding. He came into my consulting room—or one like him—the other day, and he discussed with me methods by which electric railways pick up current, and compared it with the overhead pick-ups of trolley-buses, and the underground pick-ups of trams in London, with an extraordinary degree of knowledge and interest. He talked about the rigging of boats in the same sort of way. I turned to do something in my desk and I noticed him pick up a paper and start to read—I watched him, and he was reading. I asked him afterwards what he had been reading about and he knew. The story from the school was that he was in the kindergarten and did not know his letters. You know this boy—I'm sure you do, though he's a composite of many. But the trouble with that boy is that somebody had seen him when he was little and said he was far too active—keep him out of school and let him run about—and that boy has since then been starved of the only things which make the mind grow—which are academic subjects. Running about kicking a ball doesn't help the intelligent boy."

School work, "book learning," helps the child's emotional life, he goes on to suggest:

"The young, excitable, over-active, intelligent children whose brains have been starved of the essentials—the three R's are essential—their minds do not develop

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without them—I call them the vitamins of education. They are the things that activate the diet that the children get.”

We may well ask, I think, how many of the 800,000 children who have been without schooling for the last six months are “over-active, intelligent children,” who are likely to suffer to the full from the lack of these “vitamins of education.” Here is an account of some London children—children from Peckham—given by Dr. Gertrude Willoughby, Warden of the Union of Girls’ Schools Settlement:

“The fact that children are running wild is incontrovertible. We have not had so much trouble with organized gangs of children since we started here ten years ago. Two gangs have broken into the Settlement and last week a gang managed to carry off three bicycles for which we are still searching. We find it too in the clubs, in the general lack of discipline in the children of all ages. In this area the police have the matter in hand and the other day came to advise us to keep our club door shut as there was a gang out obviously up to mischief.”

Here again is a fuller report sent me through *Mass-Observation* from a Worker, who is also a Mass-Observer, as to what is happening at a Play Centre in Bethnal Green:

“These children have not been evacuated. They have not been to school since war started.

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I have come to hold a Play Centre for them with instructions to *teach* them also, if possible.

Some of the schools in the neighbourhood are beginning to open for certain hours. Some of the children attend on some days. They can come to me at all other times. The Centre is open Monday to Friday, 10 a.m. to 12; and 1.45 to 3.45 p.m.

Forty children are admitted at a time, aged 4 to 11.

* * * * *

The children are completely out of hand. Individually and in small groups they are friendly. In numbers, they run amok.

* * * * *

On the first day, the new idea attracted the children. They came to *play*. The girls seized upon a few dressing-up clothes which were among the material, arrayed themselves in the costumes, sat all the youngest children in a row as audience, and then proceeded to 'act a play.' The boys looked over their shoulders pretending not to be interested, but gradually began to put on bits of 'dress-up' and to join in.

The 'Play' consisted in introducing each character, 'This is the baby clown.' 'This is the Princess.' 'This is the maid.' The characters were made to fit the garments. All the talking was done by one child. There was a sheet. So a ghost was inevitable.

From the moment the ghost was introduced, all was pandemonium. The ghost began to chase all and sundry, leaving the stage and using the whole hall, amid deafening screams from everybody.

Each day the dressing-up clothes have been asked

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for. And each day since the first, the 'Play' has begun at the ghost chasing part.

All their games, in fact, are chasing and catching each other.

None of the children has the least idea of obedience. I whistle as a signal that I have something to say to them. Not the slightest notice is taken even if I call.

We supply milk. They want this, so it is possible to pen them up between forms while we collect the half-pennies for the milk. The Superintendent of the Society of Friends' Work in Bethnal Green helps me in this; and also lends his voice and authority when my own and the whistle fail to get a hearing. Having got the children there, I seize the opportunity to try to tell them 'What we are going to do to-day.' I make it clear that there is no compulsion. Those who have nothing to do may like my suggestions.

Anything approaching school or 'lessons' at once arouses suspicion: 'You are not an L.C.C. teacher, are you, miss?' 'Course she's not. You're not a teacher, are you, madam? You're glad you don't work for the L.C.C., I bet. No fear, she wouldn't like to work for *them*.'

* * * * *

Anything to do with school is anathema. 'Writing? No, miss, we do that at school.'

'Oh, not the wireless, madam. We have to listen to it at school.'

'We have to draw at school. We have stories at school.'

Allowed to choose their occupation for themselves, 'something quiet' they agree, but have no intention of

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carrying out their bargain. They slip off to distant corners and there start their chasing and gangstering and chasing games again.

Whatever they do, wherever they are, they sing and shout at the tops of their voices all the time.

When in the 'milk pen' I endeavour to outline some sort of programme to them; they at once shout me down . . . before I even begin my suggestions: 'Not a story.' 'Not the wireless.' 'I'm not going to draw, miss.' 'I'm not goin' to do no writin',' etc.

I say, 'We are going to *make* something. Those who want to, that is.' I hold up an Indian headdress, made of brown paper, with coloured paper 'feathers.'

Noses are turned up. Cries of 'I shan't, will you?'

The whistle blows. Mr. Superintendent lifts his voice. 'I want to hear about it.' A slight hush is felt.

'I'm going to tell a story about Indians for those who want to listen. Those who don't can just be clever enough to be quiet for five minutes.'

I tell very shortly the introduction to the story of Hiawatha and get in the idea of SIGNALS and peace pipes.

We then emerge from the 'Pow-wow' circle to go to tables to make peace pipes and headdresses. A very few are made.

One boy even said 'Good' when I said we could copy out some of the Hiawatha poetry.

The days ended by the boys being given the choice of staying and doing something quiet (after having been allowed 20 minutes romping) or of GOING HOME. They chose to remain but not to be quiet, and so were dismissed with the help of 'Sir.'

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One child remarked, 'Oh, don't send Bert 'ome, miss. 'Is mother'll 'it 'im.'

The next morning the children came up one after the other to ask, 'May I make an Indian headdress?' They all made one and all went home in them.

When the headdresses were made, the inevitable chasing began again. I was able to reduce the noise a little by showing how INDIANS usually silently stalked their prey.

On Friday, the general cry was, 'We may come on Monday, mayn't we? and you will be here?'

I am told by 'Sir' that every night, in the blackout, some of those children stand outside the Hall till 10 p.m. when their mothers collect them and take them home.

All the children are imitative. What one does, all do. I found this also with the 'better-class' children. They MUST be all alike. If one had a cold, the others were envious and wanted to have a cold too.

The one thing one asks them to do is the thing to be avoided at all costs . . . at first. As soon as they see that there is no compulsion and that I really do not mind whether they do a certain thing or not, they come round to wanting to do it . . . perhaps a day or so late."

III

There is no reason to suppose that the situation in other large towns is any better than in London. Long before the war Dr. Moodie emphasized over and over again the advantages of school work:

"The outlet that these children require is not play.

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. . . You can divert some of these children's energy by allowing them to play or romp or be violent, but you don't divert it all—and you find that if you do allow these children to be uncontrolled and aggressive, they become pathologically violent; whereas academic subjects quieted them down at once. They become interested and work, and get satisfaction and also outlet for all this energy which has been dammed."

In yet another talk, on "Children's Fears," Dr. Moodie stressed another effect on children of being balked in their need for education:

"We see these children one after another. The story is usually the same—that somebody has said they are very intelligent—someone has told the mother to keep them out of school and not exercise their minds too much. These children are suffering from a suppression of their need to work, which is one of the essentials in child development—the need to work—need for occupation—occupation of a constructive kind. It is almost as if the child, being denied expression for his mental energies, his mental energies were dammed and so were flowing into the emotional side and causing a disturbance of all these natural emotions which are lying dormant—exciting them—bringing them up to the surface."

Even more suggestive as to the effects of mass "running wild" were likely to be what under modern conditions, are Dr. Moodie's descriptions of the mental state of delinquents. Most people think of delinquents,

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both grown-ups and children, as rather sharp, cunning people with good brains—in fact as “too clever by half.” Dr. Moodie takes quite a contrary view. His experience is—he says—too limited for him to be able to draw up a general conclusion, but he sets down what he has gathered during three years of examining “every delinquent remanded in custody in London. We saw over 5,000 children.”—The defectives had been filtered out beforehand.

“We found this. Compared to a group of elementary schoolchildren of the same social status, we found that these children were six times as backward in school as the children outside the Remand Home. What does that mean? It means that 7% of the ordinary school population that we examined were three years or more retarded in reading—that is to say they were reading 3 years behind their mental age—but in the Remand Home 42% were 3 years or more behind normal in reading, or what they were capable of reading. In arithmetic in the normal population about 12% were 3 or more years behind; in the Remand Home 72%.”

Later in this talk Dr. Moodie speaks generally as to the effects of school backwardness and describes the results of certain physical factors which tend to improve at about 11 or 12, telling us what happens to children who have suffered a big gap in their mental life by being backward.

“The child has missed a tremendous amount of the fundamentals of education, and unless you recognize

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this and fill in the blanks, he is always going to be handicapped—he is going to go on with these blanks there, the knowledge and method has been missed. So one comes up against some of these children competing with this situation. They may be 14 or 15 and the actual difficulty has disappeared, but what has remained is all that they have missed in the early days, plus, probably, the adjustment they have made towards their inferiority during that time. They have got their interests elsewhere than in learning.”

The consequences of a child having missed a long period of education are so far-reaching that Dr. Moodie puts up another danger signal as to their effects.

Children would frequently be brought to a Child Guidance Clinic in a condition which showed that their mental age had by no means kept pace with their actual age; these children came from every sort of home:

“Then we try to discover why it is. Often from the history it is quite obvious; the child may have moved from one country to another, one school to another, one governess to another, etc. The record of such changes I think in my experience is a child who was very difficult and was taught by 59 governesses in 15 months! This is quite true though it seems almost a physical impossibility. That is hopeless, of course—frightful, but often it is unavoidable—the parents move from one place to another. But if a track were kept of what they were doing and what they are capable of doing, these blanks would be obvious.”

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Here is a danger signal which might have been, or might still be for the future, regarded as bearing on the subject of rebilleting.

If we refer to the unpublished paper on the billeting of unaccompanied school children mentioned in the last chapter (page 103), we shall find a very close parallel to this situation. The pre-war child may have been moved about at greater distances, but the difficulty of fitting into a new home, with entirely new guardians, will readjust the balance. This sound advice, founded on pre-war experience, seems, however, to belong rather to the following chapter, "The Next Step," than to the problems of "Running Wild."

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEXT STEP

“ONE of Finland’s most serious problems is that of the evacuated civilians, and especially the children, who number probably one-third of a total of half a million. The death-rate among these children has risen considerably. . . . The interruption of all normal existence caused by the bombing of the towns and villages is undoubtedly a cause of danger not to be measured by the relatively small number of casualties.

Last winter these were Spanish children.

This winter—Finland’s.

This summer will they be our own?”

The above paragraph appeared in *The Times* at the end of February from the unemotional pen of their Military Correspondent. It furnished one aspect of the problem with which the nation must immediately deal.

The text for the other aspect had been provided earlier in February by Lord Addison, who declared in the House of Lords that “The first major casualty of the war has been the national system of education.”

That this unfortunate declaration has more than a basis of truth is borne out by the fact that we are assured that up to the end of March only a quarter of the nation’s children were receiving full-time education,

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a quarter half-time education, another quarter have a little teaching in private households, while the remaining children are not receiving any education at all—even, indeed, as indicated in the last chapter, developing a sturdy dislike for anything in the way of teaching.

Against this lack of education we must balance the hints given by *The Times* Military Correspondent that bombing is a cause of danger not to be measured by the relatively small number of casualties.

Faced in February with these two contradictory necessities, the Ministries of Education and Health reacted in a characteristic fashion. On February 7th, following Lord Addison's dictum of Education having been the first major casualty of the war, Lord De la Warr, then President of the Board of Education, announced his decision that every child must go to school, and subsequently education was declared to be once more compulsory as from the beginning of the summer term, Monday, April 1st.

A week later, on February 15th, Mr. Walter Elliot, then Minister of Health, outlined a scheme for giving parents a second chance to evacuate school children only, the evacuation to be voluntary, but the parents who registered their children to promise to send them to their country destinations when evacuation is ordered, and not to remove them till the school parties return. Up till the end of March only a quarter of the parents had registered under this "second chance" scheme.

So there we have a compromise scheme which will

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provide neither complete protection nor complete education, but which will afford a modicum of both—for who can venture to say that living in the country gives complete protection from bombs? It gives a very much better chance, but the risk of the unexpected raid and the chance hit cannot be completely eliminated. And, of course, the danger from parachutists is decidedly higher. As Lady Simon most justly points out in her admirable pamphlet, *Some Educational Aspects of Evacuation*, the danger of bombing is increased in direct proportion to the density of population; otherwise the only actual safety in these vulnerable islands comes from it not being worth the enemy's while to waste expensive bombs on certain parts of the country.

How, then, from an educational point of view, stands the balance-sheet between safety of body and vacuity of mind?

The wisest analysis which I have come across of this balance-sheet was given by Mr. Walmsley, Chairman of the Association of Assistant Masters, and summed up in a short leader in the *Daily Telegraph* as long ago as January 6th.

Mr. Walmsley believes, to quote the *Daily Telegraph*, that "the explosion of evacuation" (which is in itself a most illuminating phrase) will "set free teachers and children from the restrictions of staff administration and of examination schedules, and so facilitate experiment and the discovery of original and better ways." It is to be hoped that these original methods will not

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overlook the necessity of providing what was described in the last chapter as "the vitamins of Education,"—the three R's, whose difficult assimilation gives such wholesome exercise to the growing mind (page 110).

Even last January it would have been difficult to foresee that the result of non-compulsory Evacuation combined with compulsory Education must be the dividing of the schools. Now that the response to the "second chance" evacuation is so small this is easy to understand. The staff of those town schools which have made a success of Evacuation, when the appropriate date, April 1st, arrived, divided up their staffs to make adequate provision for those children on their registers who had remained in the towns for the seven months which had elapsed since the great trek. The Ministry has set its face against the return of the children who were already in the country. Therefore one staff must function in two places.

With regard to the whole situation, Mr. Walmsley, whose speech at the Annual Meeting of his Association I have alluded to above, remarked rather optimistically:

"The present Evacuation and Billeting Scheme is not incapable of being improved on in such a way as to secure such measures of discipline and self-control as are needed for the building of character."

Fortified by quotations dealing with the educational problems of the sixteenth century, the speaker suggested with considerable emphasis that every child

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should be sent away from home for training at a very early age. One is tempted to ask—How early?

It will be remembered that in Book V of *The Republic*, Plato proposes that the child should be entirely the care of the State. His idea was that at the moment “when they are full of milk” the nursing mothers should be brought by the proper officers “to the pen or fold” where the children of the State are being nurtured, and should suckle a baby of appropriate age, “taking the greatest possible care that no mother recognises her own child.”¹ Beyond that point nature will not allow either vicarious parenthood or equality of the sexes to be carried. The bearing and suckling of offspring must be carried on personally by a member of the female sex. Even the latter process might have been delegated to a flock of goats piped down from the hills above Athens. Yet, though the physical side of motherhood must perforce continue, neither Father’s care nor Mother’s nurture must be given to the child.

Putting aside, with a shiver of horror at the bleak prospect, Plato’s fundamental plan for the nurture of the State’s children, let us consider Mr. Walmsley’s arguments from historical precedents in favour of training children away from home. He quotes from Mr. R. W. Chambers’s *Life of Thomas More* a letter from the Venetian Ambassador of that day (about A.D. 1500) disapproving of “the want of affection in the English,” which, he writes, “is strongly manifested towards their children, for after having kept them at

¹ Dr. Jowett’s translation.

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home till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people. . . . And few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he in return receives those of strangers into his own."

Fifty years before that date, Henry VI, in the foundation of Eton College, ordained that the College should provide gratuitous instruction in grammar "not only for the Scholars and Choristers but also for an indefinite number of boys coming to Eton from any part of the world for education." With this object, the King ordained that the College should "maintain public and general grammar schools." A few privileged Commensals, or Commoners, were to be allowed to live in the College, and others were to be allowed to dine in the Hall, "provided that the boys of both classes paid for everything except their tuition."¹

These unprivileged boys, who got nothing but their dinners in College, had to be "billeted" somewhere. Assistant masters were not allowed at that time to keep boarding-houses. Hence the institution of the Eton "Dames," or, to give them their original title, "Boarding-Dames," who may be called the prototype of the billeting hostesses of the present day.

There being, it seems, nothing new in the English (the word should probably be British) practice of sending even very young children away from home for

¹ *History of Eton College*, by Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte.

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training, the following suggestion of Mr. Walmsley has the merit of not being an experiment:

“I must be content to suggest that perhaps English family life may gain more than it loses by the departure from home of so many children of all ages. For them it may be more truly educational than many people think at present. Is it just callous to turn a child adrift at an early age? Or is it the secret of a sound education? Certainly it is in the tradition of English education, and a child so trained is more likely to become a good citizen, and to grow up to call his father ‘blessed’ than is the modern boy who is allowed to run wild at home in what is often merely the caricature of family life.”

If, indeed, the “secret of a sound education” is to send children to be brought up away from home, we should surely embrace the unrivalled opportunity which presents itself to part as many town parents and children as possible on the grounds of safety. But, though War presented the chance, no time was afforded for the preparation of suitable conditions, and these have had to be worked out, as far as they have been worked out at all, by the method of “trial and error.”

In late March a scheme of general recommendations was drawn up and circulated to various Government Authorities, which might serve as a basis of sound advice to everyone concerned with evacuated children.

This advice was contained in a Memorandum issued by the Research Committee of the Cambridge Evacuation Survey, and it is by the kind permission of the

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Chairman, Dr. Susan Isaacs, D.Sc., M.A., that I am able to quote it:

- “1. Members of the same family should be sent to the same district.
2. School units should be maintained as far as is practicable. This provision is particularly desirable in the case of Selective Central, Secondary and Technical Schools.
3. Certain facts should be obtained about each child before evacuation, and these should be conveyed to the Receiving Authority.
4. Parents' visits to children should be encouraged by granting special facilities for travel.
5. In all evacuating areas, centres should be available where parents whose children have been sent away should be able to consult social workers about the welfare of their children and about other family matters connected with evacuation.
6. Two types of helpers should be appointed by and responsible to the Evacuating Authority.
7. Two types of professional social workers should be appointed by and responsible to the Receiving Authority.
8. The Billeting Officer should in every case be an individual who has special knowledge of the needs of children, and of local social conditions, and the method of appointment should be regularised to meet this requirement.
9. In Reception Areas additional facts should be obtained about prospective foster-homes.
10. In addition to foster-homes, there should be provided in each Reception Area: (a) a temporary

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- hostel; (b) emergency and observation homes; (c) a home or homes for difficult children.
11. Billeting Officers should be advised of certain considerations to be borne in mind when placing individual children in foster-homes.
 12. Receiving Authorities should provide a place where parents can meet their evacuated children.
 13. Preparation for the recreation of evacuated children should be made by the appropriate organisations before their arrival.
 14. Prospective foster-parents should be informed of their rights in regard to compensation for dilapidation."

These 14 points are, of course, amplified in the memorandum and appendices which follow.

But admirable as is the advice of the experts who conducted this Survey, it gives no help in the great question of billeting in private houses *versus* the provision of school camps. These alternatives are now the subject of the most anxious consideration.

Although last September we were all warned by the Government that the War was likely to last a very long time, I do not think even those hostesses who gladly received the evacuated children, entirely faced the fact that a long war implied the possibilities of these children living with them week after week, month after month, and, too probably, year after year.

Well we know now.

I think every hostess should ask herself, "Are you

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prepared to keep the children till the Government ends the scheme and sends them back to their town schools?" The Government, too, should face the question as to whether even those successfully established in billets should not be decanted into school camps. Let us hear what Mr. Walmsley has to say on the subject. After stating that:

"Last March" (1939) "the National Camp Corporation was founded and authorized by the Government to build and equip forty School Camps at a cost of £1,000,000, each camp to accommodate 350 children and 15 teachers. Twenty-five of these camps are in course of construction, a few have already been completed."

Mr. Walmsley proceeds:

"The experience of the last three or four months has led many who formerly advocated billeting in private homes to change their minds. I am not going to suggest that billeting is a general failure: it has some advantages, and probably we all know cases in which the present scheme is working well. But I am satisfied myself that the advantages are outweighed by the disadvantages. I should like to see the present fifty camps increased many times, until accommodation is available for every school in the country, elementary and secondary, beginning with the schools of our cities and big towns, to have its month a year at its own school camp."

We shall all be in complete agreement with Mr.

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Walmsley's last wish. It would indeed be a priceless advantage to the health of the coming generation if every town school could have its own school camp, to which it would go annually as a matter of routine. I think it is a moot point whether this is a justifiable expense for country schools, which get plenty of fresh air and the other advantages of country life. Perhaps in the millennium the country schools might have camps at the seaside.

But the whole psychological factor is left out when Mr. Walmsley identifies the advantages of a month's stay in camp with an indefinite period of evacuation.

Leaving aside the question as to what is to be done after the War with camps used for the evacuees, let us weigh the pros and cons of *Billeting versus Camping* in the present crisis.

There are surely three major points to be considered—Mental Health, Physical Health, and Expense.

Of the first two we may say that good physical health is so bound up with good mental health that they may be considered together. To give the child the best chance of attaining good mental health we should first find out what are the most important things in the child's life.

Dr. Moodie in his earliest talk says that these are not "incidents," but "influences."

"Whether as a baby he" (the child) "felt secure, wanted, or unwanted and rejected. Whether the world was to him a consistent place, where he could roughly foretell what was going to happen next, or whether his

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parents or environment were changeable so that he just did not know what situation was going to face him and just how he was to face it. . . . Whether he grew up in a calm, quiet, peaceful place, or whether he was surrounded by things that made him afraid and anxious. . . . We want to know above all what the world looks like to the child—it doesn't matter what it looks like to us—it's his conception of it that matters."

What would a long row of dormitory beds look like to a small child? Over nine or ten years old—possibly adventurous and exciting; but how would the little ones, accustomed to the snug security of their own sleeping place, regard it?

Then again, asks Dr. Moodie, what are a little child's needs and wishes?

"It wishes for comfort, for warmth, for affection, for things to do—for interesting things, for security, for safety. . . ."

"Comfort"—"Warmth"—"Affection"—"Things to do"—"Security"—"Safety."

Let us take them one by one.

Comfort. It cannot be truly said that institutions are comfortable places. The long rows of beds already alluded to present a gaunt appearance—though the beds themselves (unless they are double-deckers in which every movement is shared by both beds) are comfortable enough. There is nothing welcoming, either, in the narrow tables at which the food is served. Surely a family table in a billet would be much more

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attractive for a stay of many months. There is, too, an element of compulsion about an institution which cannot be said to make for comfort.

Warmth. Ah! There probably, if the camp is a permanent, not a holiday, camp, the institution is the better—though at a cost which no one who has not paid the bills for warming a detached country house in winter can realize. The camp may be draughty, but, if it has central heating, it will be warmer than any cottage or country house except one situated in a village street.

Affection. That is a matter of chance. There may be wonderful nurses and attendants who are capable of loving forty strange children at a time. There may also be billet hostesses who work from a high sense of duty, and not from affection. If the parents are not too far away, visits and letters will give the necessary love-supply in the most natural way possible. All the same, happy is the camp and the billet in which “a born mother” is one of the staff or the billet hostess.

Things to do. Interesting things are less likely to be found in an *ad hoc* institution dumped down on a vacant site than in the houses in a village where everyone wants to contribute to the children’s happiness. Both in camp and billet those invaluable people, the teachers, will with luck contribute towards this element.

But *Security* and *Safety*. These depend greatly on the powers or organisation of the authorities. Regularity, a peaceful and orderly atmosphere will give the children a feeling of security in a camp, and the same

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must be said of a billet. A well-run billet where the day's events happen with reasonable punctuality, and no one is in a frightful bustle trying to make up for lost time, will repay the hosts ten-fold in the pleasant atmosphere of the house.

I am not at all sure that children up to 10 do not do best in billets, and above that age in camp. It is very questionable whether the evacuation of the under-fives *without their mothers* should be considered at all. As a Psychiatrist wrote to me in a private letter concerned with the problem of the under-fives:

"What is far more important is the effect on the child himself. Child Guidance experts are I think universally opposed to the institutionalization of children. It is a very different thing to leave a child in a day nursery while the mother goes to work from sending him for long periods to a residential nursery. The child may settle down and be happy enough, but he forgets his home and his parents and the normal resumption of home and family life is exceedingly difficult if not impossible.

My own reaction is, better risk physical injury rather than risk the undoubted psychological injury to both mother and child, but especially to the child."

"In my view," writes another Psychiatrist, "extensive communal settlements are called for and not barracks, however well planned."

It is obvious that on the grounds of health, given an

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equal amount of that minute care which is essential in the bringing up of small children, the child up till ten years old will probably be best in the billet. The bigger boy or girl has an equal chance of doing well in favourable examples of either plan.

To come now to the third major point—the question of cost. To my mind it is incontestable that the Government, or, more properly, the nation, gets a great deal more value for its 8s. 6*d.* (or 10s. 6*d.*) billeting allowance than it does from subsidizing a camp.

In the first place there is housing, which you may call rent or shelter, as you please. The billeting allowance for a soldier in uniform in country districts is 6*d.* a night, and that is supposed to be very cheap. For this the host need not even provide a bed. That being so, for the bed (or half a bed, which is greatly preferred by its inmates) of a child we cannot allow less than 1s. 6*d.* a week, considering that this item, which perhaps it is better to call shelter, includes not only a bed, but accommodation throughout the day.

In a billet this is provided by the host. In a camp it must be paid for. And so with warmth, light, and, above all, with service. Water, too, is a commodity which is not cheap when supplied to large numbers. It is, indeed, apt to become a little expensive in any house where more than two or three evacuees are housed. Quite recently the hostess of a private house, which houses not quite ten children, was asked by the Water Company whether her meter had better not be inspected. Her consumption (and therefore her bill) had

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so enormously increased that the Company suspected a faulty registration.

To begin with, therefore, we have Shelter and Water on the credit side of a billeting allowance as services rendered, but not specifically paid for. Medical services are adequately provided, though the hostess must look out very sharply and see that either by the parents or the State she is properly paid for the medical comforts that all children need. But if the School Doctor, or Nurse, decrees that a child is to be taken to the dentist, there is no provision offered for transport, and child and escort (no one would be so cruel as to send a child alone to the dentist) have either to walk possibly three or four miles, or incur bus fares.

Payment for fuel for cooking and warmth, and payment for light, are some of the items included in the 8s. 6d. billeting allowance. I have no idea what the cost per head is in a camp for these items; but, according to the Board of Education's circular (No. 1496) these camps are well warmed and well lighted. To judge by the array of Aga stoves and high- and low-pressure boilers in a camp which I visited, which houses just under a hundred scholars, the expense must be considerable. Certainly these essentials are not provided gratis as they would be if the same number of children were billeted in twos and threes in a village.

The greatest item in which a camp is more costly than a billet is that of Service. In the camp alluded to above a staff of 20 (12 women and 8 men) were not too much to cope with the domestic situation. All this

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work is provided by the hostess either from her own labour in the case of one or two billeted children, or by staff, which she pays. The admirable Voluntary Helpers provided by the Village Committees are not numerous enough to cover the domestic situation without trained domestic help. It should be noted that the professional domestic worker accepts his or her ordinary wage, but willingly, usually, undertakes double his or her ordinary work.

With regard to economy in feeding large numbers, I cannot think that the allowance for food at present prices can be less than 6s. a head per week, leaving 2s. 6d. for all the services enumerated above. A working hostess told me that she was out of pocket with an allowance of 8s. 6d. a week and had to send away one evacuee to qualify for the 10s. 6d. allowance. The children were adolescents, and the Government has since recognised, by raising the allowance for children over 10, the fact once pointed out to me by a very able Army doctor, that "it is impossible to overfeed an adolescent." It should be noted that it was her actual *out-of-pocket* expenses which could not be covered by a 10s. 6d. allowance. She was providing all the other services catalogued above—shelter, light, warmth, water, service, and, besides these, the great item so often referred to in this book—the *Washing*.

With regard to shelter, *i.e.*, rent and accommodation, I understand that the camp spoken of above, which is capable of housing nearly a hundred children and a large staff, cost approximately from £25,000 to

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£30,000 to build before the War; so the contention of Mr. Walmsley will not hold water that billeting is extravagant because—

“A camp will last for many years; but at the end of the year, under the present billeting scheme, there is nothing to show for the vast sums of money expended.”

Shelter will not, of course, be left to be used at the end of the War because the Government has not been asked for the money to provide it.

That £25,000 to £30,000 on behalf of every hundred children billeted is the contribution offered by the hosts and hostesses of the nation.

No one could possibly expect it to come out of the billeting allowance, which was not even intended to provide more than the out-of-pocket expenses enumerated above from shelter to the weekly washing. The Government gets a much better bargain from the 8s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. billeting allowance than by building and maintaining camps. This, I think, will hold good even with the new sliding scale of allowances for children over 10 years old.

There remains but little more to be said than to enumerate the various schemes for camps and community shelters, particulars of which will be found in the Appendix.

* * * * *

If any reader would like to hear what has happened to the three parties of children whose arrival was de-

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scribed in Chapter I: the Dale children returned to their homes about Easter, the schools having been reopened. The doings of the boys in the South-West are described in Chapter II, which was written no earlier than the end of April. As for the eight little beings who arrived at my own front door on September 1st, they are all very well and happy, and will, I hope, be here till the school scheme ends. The one replacement (which, after all, happened eight months ago) has lived up to the standard of fundamental good behaviour (bless their hearts, of course they aren't *always* good!) and good manners set by the other seven—and no hostess could ask for more than that. These I attribute largely to the influence of their own excellent school where, it having set up in the village, they have worked, and are working, steadily under their own teachers. Not since October last have there been any psychological problems, and even then there was nothing more difficult to tackle than enuresis. This I attribute to the loyal co-operation and encouragement which I have had from the parents and relations, who have kept by visits and letters in constant touch with their children, and have supplied the special element which it is neither possible, nor indeed desirable, for a billet to attempt to give. For this I am exceedingly grateful, and I hope to return the children to them undamaged in character and mind from their long absence.

No one who has studied the population statistics of

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this country can fail to realize the national importance of every individual child. We had not enough of them even before the War, and the devastating effect of this world catastrophe can only be imagined.

“S'ils tombent nos jeunes héros, La terre en produit de nouveaux.”

To ensure that the nation's children should grow up worthy of their destiny is the supreme task of the women of Great Britain.

HARROWHILL COPSE,
NEWLANDS CORNER,
SURREY.

November 1939 to June 1940.

APPENDIX

SHORT PRÉCIS OF VARIOUS REPORTS AND SCHEMES REFERRED TO IN TEXT

I. EVACUATION IN PRACTICE

Study of a Rural Reception Area (Wantage [Berkshire] and 11 neighbouring villages)

(Prepared by The Evacuation Committee of the Association of Architects, Surveyors and Technical Assistants, 57 New End, London, N.W.3, in collaboration with the A.A. School Rural Planning Group.)

NO fully worked out solution attempted in this Report, but very important principles set down.

“Whatever material improvements may be made the social and organizational aspects are of no less importance. In fact, little can be achieved in the improvement of conditions until it is recognized that the problem must be tackled as a *social* one, that town people cannot be absorbed into individual homes in the country without additional social provisions, and that individual responsibility for the care of an evacuated town dweller must be coupled with a measure of organized and communal responsibility.

We have already seen examples of a communal spirit and the advantages which it brings: the happier village with its Women's Institute or other means of social contact, the success of organized outings and recreation in Wantage when the shift system was in operation, the desirability of organized visits from parents instead of individual visits. But such activities must be greatly extended, and the Local Authorities responsible for evacuation and reception must play a part in them.

Closer contact between evacuation and reception authorities is of

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the utmost importance in the rebuilding of evacuation. In London the Borough Councils, being much more local in character than the London County Council, must be encouraged to take part. If, for example, the boroughs of West Ham and Poplar were in much closer contact with their people in Wantage and in other parts of the London reception area the improvement of reception conditions could be arranged while further evacuation was being prepared in London. People in the city would learn of the arrangements for their reception and through organized visits and parents' committees could gain personal knowledge of them. As we shall see, such preparations are especially necessary for the evacuation of children under 5.

With such social developments as a basis we can pass to a consideration of those material measures that must be undertaken and which are our more direct concern."

Under the heading "SCHOOLCHILDREN" a suggestion is made that no billeting should be allowed in large towns in danger of attack or which are being used by other Government departments. In small centres such as Wantage billets are regarded as the best form of accommodation for the bulk of the schoolchildren.

"It will be seen, therefore, that to pose the problem of the evacuation of schoolchildren in general as 'billeting versus camps' is to avoid facing facts as they are. Camps must be built instead of the billets in unfavourable areas and at the same time steps must be taken to improve conditions in all areas. If camps are built and nothing else is done there will be better conditions for some children, but others will be left as they are now and will eventually return to the towns or suffer considerably in the country."

Follow two pages referring to Wantage as to the best methods of the stabilization of billeting and full-time education for the three evacuated schools. Some of these suggestions—not all—would be useful in any district. Due notice is taken of the fact that it is officially recognized that the general objective should be to ensure that the householder should be relieved of responsibility between break-

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fast-time and tea-time. No provision, however, is made against one cause of failure of this objective, which is the question of illness in which the children are not allowed to attend school.

Further recommendations refer only to cases in which the completion of the schools by further evacuation is to be considered. This applies chiefly to the area surveyed and, though many useful hints can be obtained, there is no general scheme.

The Report was completed by various illustrated schemes for School Camps, Nursery Centres, and Rural Centres, most of which are for mothers and small children, and not for unaccompanied schoolchildren. (The scheme for School Camps, however, is not illustrated.) These can be obtained from the Evacuation Committee of the A.A.S.T.A. as above.

Two Camps designed for Children between the ages of 5 and 15 years, in war-time as Evacuation Camps and in peace-time as Holiday Camps for Town Children.

Scheme A, which is specially suitable for holiday camps, is composed of ten self-contained groups, each group planned for forty children in peace-time and eighty in war-time.

Points to be noted:

- (a) The arrangement is informal and un-institutional.
- (b) Supervision of small groups of children is easier.
- (c) There is less danger of panic in air raids.
- (d) A varying number of groups of forty children can come, the necessary accommodation being opened up as required.
- (e) Any group can be isolated in case of infectious disease, and spread of infection is less likely.
- (f) It can be easily adapted as a holiday camp, when all three rooms in the groups become dormitories.

Site described: "17 acres of sloping meadow with road to the north."

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There appear to be no details in staffing as to the amount of service required for nursing sick children and also for supervision.

An illustrated brochure from the same source shows Evacuation Buildings for Mothers and Children. These comprise:—

A Village Settlement.

A Holiday and Evacuation Camp.

An arrangement of Dormitory Buildings for Children and Helpers, with a Terrace Block for Parents.

This scheme as illustrated seems to provide excellent arrangements for the maximum of privacy, and the Terrace Block for Parents is very attractive. Again in the arrangements for children and helpers very little accommodation is allotted to the staff.

A further development of this brochure is the showing of bungalows for families in conjunction with the Village Settlement:

1. For 2 Mothers and 6 Children.
2. For 3 Mothers and 5 Children.
3. For 3 Mothers and 3 Children.

II. CARE AND TREATMENT OF DIFFICULT CHILDREN AS ORGANIZED BY WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SERVICES IN THE COUNTY OF HUNTINGDON

This excellent report does not deal with the question of the best form of care and accommodation for normal children, being purely concerned with abnormal children. The county organization of this service is first described, and there are then headings regarding *Visiting Foster Homes in which Difficulties have arisen—Establishment in Various Districts of Child Guidance Centres—Establishment and Superintendence of Residential Homes*. A brief list of the earliest cases is added.

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III. PLAN ADVOCATED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE FOR THE EVACUATION OF UNACCOMPANIED CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OLD TO NURSERY CAMPS

These suggestions would be excellent for unaccompanied schoolchildren *over* 5, but any evacuation plan for unaccompanied under-fives is considered by certain Psychiatrists as unsound.

The scheme has certain resemblances to the camps suggested by the A.A.S.T.A. Evacuation Committee as above in Berkshire, the chief difference being that the nucleus of an existing house to be used as an administrative building is advocated. Nine houses had already been offered for this purpose early in the year. The system of self-contained units is again adopted, and a unit of 40 children to each self-contained hut is advocated. The domestic help is chiefly to be provided by evacuated mothers, not necessarily the mothers of the children concerned.

There are careful and detailed accounts of the cost of erection, equipment, and staffing—the latter item, as regards care of sickness—being fully adequate, allotting 3 Sisters, 10 Staff Nurses, and 27 Student Nurses to each Nursery Camp of 200 children. The details of this scheme appear to be extremely good and, as suggested above, it could be adapted for unaccompanied schoolchildren.

IV. NATIONAL CAMPS CORPORATION

Only one of these Camps has been visited, of which the details are noted in the text (see p. 135). There, while the domestic staff is very full, the nursing and supervisory staff does not appear to be adequate.

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V. THE FRIENDS' SCHEME FOR A COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT FOR MOTHERS AND BABIES

(Plans by Lady Allen of Hurtwood)

This is not a general scheme, but refers solely to one village in Essex where a site has been given by the owner at a nominal rent. The Settlement, of which extremely attractive plans are given, includes a Nursery School for 40 children, a communal Recreation Room with a stage, a Canteen, a Welfare Clinic, and a number of small bungalows "for those mothers who wish to have their children with them when not occupied in the school activities, and about nineteen families are to be accommodated." The provision of domestic workers is adequate, and it may be concluded that the Welfare Clinic would provide sufficient nursing staff.

A good point of this scheme is that the Settlement is to be

"closely linked with the life of the neighbourhood, and not only its hall, but also its school and welfare services will be at the disposal of the neighbours' families."

VI. GOVERNMENT EVACUATION SCHEME

Memo. Ev. 8 (Enclosure to Circular 1965—February 1940)

In the Appendices of this Memorandum most useful advice is given as to the co-operation of Evacuating Authorities and Billeting and Education Authorities in Receiving Areas. There are also suggestions for hostels and communal billets. It appears to be intended not to build camps, but to establish these hostels in existing premises, and Local Authorities are warned to avoid houses or premises which will require costly adaptation.

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VII. FURTHER REPORTS, ETC.

(a) Report by the Research Committee of the Cambridge Evacuation Survey

The 14 Main Recommendations preceding this Memorandum are quoted in full on pp. 127-8. These recommendations are expanded under the headings of "General Plans," "Preparations in the Evacuating Areas," etc.

Details are given as to the visits of parents to their children, which should, of course, be encouraged in every way possible by flat-rate railway fares, etc.

An admirable suggestion to prevent the drift back of children to their own homes is the provision of Centres of Consultation for Parents, and the Report observes that:

"All possible measures should therefore be taken to keep the parents fully informed about the welfare of their children, to give them opportunities for talking over difficulties, and to encourage easy communication between parents and children."

There is very clear advice as to Escorts and School Helpers, who should be provided by the Evacuating Authority:

"There is clear evidence that an undue burden of duties which should properly belong to Social Workers has been laid upon the teachers, and that in some cases there has been a lack of close co-operation between the teachers and school helpers on the one hand, and the local voluntary workers on the other."

There are six Recommendations as to "Preparations in the Receiving Areas." The appointment of full-time Social Workers is advocated, both those with general training in social service, and those with "special clinical experience of the child showing nervous symptoms or difficulties of behaviour." The Report goes on to say that "Wherever possible a psychiatric Social Worker should be available."

There are further suggestions as to suitable foster-homes,

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by which the Report appears to mean "billets." It is to be regretted that this admirable Survey does not point out the effect produced on the lay mind by calling a billet a "foster-home" and the hostess a "foster-mother." As stated in Chapter IV, this sets up a false relationship between the real parent, the hostess or "foster-parent," and the child, and gives a suggestion of permanency which should be avoided. Three types of "foster-homes" are advocated—a Temporary Hostel—Homes for Emergency and Observation—and a Home for Difficult Children. There is general advice as to the placement of children in "foster-homes" and an admirable series of Recommendations for sustaining Evacuation (see the last three Recommendations quoted in Chapter VIII, Nos. 12, 13 and 14):

"12. Receiving Authorities should provide a place where parents can meet their evacuated children.

13. Preparation for the recreation of evacuated children should be made by the appropriate organizations before their arrival.

14. Prospective foster-parents should be informed of their rights in regard to compensation for dilapidation."

This paper is followed by two Appendices:

1. "Draft for Card to be completed for each child by the Evacuating Authority, and handed over, in duplicate, to the Receiving Authority."
2. "Duties, Qualifications, and Methods of Appointment of School Helpers, Trained Social Workers, and Superintendents of Home and Hostels."

There are separate Recommendations for the Evacuating Authority and the Receiving Authority.

The Report concludes by stating that:

"Particulars about qualified persons" (social workers) "and rates of salary may be obtained from the Mental Health Emergency Committee, 24, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1."

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(b) Report on the French Evacuation Schemes 1939-40

(By Agnes A. Crosthwaite, Delegate of the British Federation of Social Workers to the Journées d'Etudes de Service Social held at 6 Rue de Berri, Paris, February 1940. Obtainable, price 6d., from H. G. Ward, Esq., 47, Whitehall, S.W.1.)

The part of this Report concerning the evacuation of Alsace-Lorraine, which was compulsory, was summarized in the *Manchester Guardian* of Friday, May 3rd. The other Scheme, that is, the evacuation of Paris and its outlying districts (a voluntary scheme, but one strongly advised by the Government, by whom all the necessary arrangements were made and the expense borne), is more relevant to the purposes of this book. The original evacuation from Paris in September 1939 does not appear to have been very successful, but a new Government scheme carried into effect in February 1940 was well conceived. As to this February Scheme Mrs. Crosthwaite states:

"The great feature of the new scheme is the fuller use of the Social Worker, and the encouragement and co-operation between public and private authorities, so as to have a fully organized district. The provision of personnel to ensure the co-ordination of services in the reception areas and between the reception and evacuation areas, is to be undertaken by and at the expense of the State."

Mrs. Crosthwaite draws an interesting comparison between the French Public Health system and the English as follows:

"The French Public Health system shows its care for the family unit in nearly every provision. At the 'diagnostic centres' which are beginning to replace treatment clinics, the mothers are shown how to treat minor ailments and made to do it themselves. 'The child is yours not ours,' they are told.

The medical social centres which are being set up to meet the needs of the evacuated population by their very name express their aim—the education of the population in social hygiene.

PRECIS OF VARIOUS REPORTS AND SCHEMES

The English public health standards are very high but the child is looked on as an individual rather than one member of a family group. In some instances the mother is even told, 'He is not yours, he is the State's.' "

(c) Circular to Members of the London Teachers' Association re L.C.C. and Government Camps.

At the end of January a circular was issued by the above Association to its members. This deals with the question of camps and states that all children who are fairly comfortable in their billets should, in the opinion of the Association, be left there. With regard to accommodation in the camps, the difficulty is pointed out of making use of the assistant teaching staff for supervision. The Circular states that the Government is being pressed to provide better accommodation for these assistant teachers who, it is obvious, would be on duty for spells of twenty-four hours, their small bedrooms having a glass panel by which supervision of the dormitories can be carried out. There appears to be no other provision for supervisory staff.

(d) Nursery Centres for Children in Reception Areas.

(Circular from the Board of Education [1495] and the Ministry of Health [1936] to Local Education Authorities and Local Authorities)

The suggestions contained in this Circular are, in effect, for setting up Nursery Centres for children between the ages of 2 and 5 in Reception Areas. These Centres appear to be in the nature of Day Nurseries and, of course, could not be established in scattered rural areas. In country towns they would be extremely valuable and the excellent suggestions contained in the Circular will be found very useful.

